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NATIONAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

The Regime of the South

RICHARD M. WEAVER

Nuclear Tests: Hedge against Disaster

L. BRENT BOZELL

We're Asking for It in Panama

EDWARD HUNTER

Articles and Reviews by · · · · · · GERHART NIEMEYER
REVILO OLIVER · JOHN CHAMBERLAIN · GARRY WILLS
RODNEY GILBERT · ANTHONY LEJEUNE · J. P. McFADDEN

MILIUM LINED DRAPERIES
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TOWN HOUSE MOTEL, High Point, North Carolina
"The rooms in this motel really put Milium to the test.... Milium solved problem after problem."

SIMMONS COMPANY
EXECUTIVE OFFICES — NEW YORK, N.Y.

REPLY TO
MERCHANDISE MART PLAZA
CHICAGO 54, ILLINOIS

February 16, 1959

Mr. John Barnes
MILIUM DIVISION
Deering, Milliken & Co., Inc.
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New York 18, N. Y.

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SIMMONS COMPANY

Karl Steinhauser
Consultant Decorator
Contract Division

Karl Steinhauser, A. I. D.
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NATIONAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

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For the Record

From Turkey: persistent rumors that some of the eleven U.S. airmen missing after the Soviets shot down their plane were observed parachuting to earth. . . . American authorities have got hold (from a repatriated Japanese), of a list of more than 300 Americans held by the Chinese Reds. . . . The Communist campaign to undercut British and American book publishers around the world is succeeding. Communist editions of American and English classics, as well as pirated translations of modern works, retail in the Orient at prices below American manufacturing costs.

A disenchanted top newspaper editor, once one of the prized "cleared consultants" to CIA, has his newshawks, as well as private investigators, quietly compiling a list of the prominent newsmen who are covertly employed by the agency here in the United States. Some very interesting names on his list. . . . A European journalist, in this country after a tour of Communist Germany, insists that Dr. Jesus de Galindez (the missing Columbia University professor and Trujillo foe) is behind the Iron Curtain. Galindez, so the story goes, was flown from New York to Cuba on the night of his disappearance and spirited from there to the Soviet Union aboard a submarine which had brought arms to Castro's forces in Oriente Province.

Senator John McClellan and Commerce Secretary Lewis L. Strauss selected for the George Washington Awards of the American Good Government Society. Speaker at the presentation dinner, April 30 at Washington's Sheraton Park Hotel, will be Senator Barry Goldwater (for information, write American Good Government Society, 810 Dupont Circle Building, Washington 6, D.C.). . . . Former President Herbert Hoover to be the speaker on the Manion Radio Forum, March 29. His topic: The "Sword of Damocles" over America. . . . An AFL-CIO Speakers Bureau will provide Labor orators for college and university audiences.

Available from the House Committee on Un-American Activities, two useful pamphlets: "Communist Legal Subversion, the Role of the Communist Lawyer," which summarizes the records of 39 lawyers who have been identified before the Committee as members of the Party, and "Patterns of Communist Espionage," a graphic description of Soviet and satellite spy techniques here and abroad.

The WEEK

● We're rich. How rich? Well, if the wheat farmers of America were to lay off for a whole year—producing nary a bushel of the golden grain in all 1959—we'd have as much bread and spaghetti and wheaties as we ever had, plus as much as we have been in the habit of giving away to foreigners, and still end up with a substantial surplus for the following year. That is, if the wheat now held in cold storage at a cost of several hundred million a year were brought to market. Yes, America is a rich country. *Crazy* rich.

● In the deadlock between Governor Rockefeller and Republican members of the New York State Legislature, we are wholly on the side of the Governor. Mr. Rockefeller was nominated for governor with the all but unanimous enthusiasm of Republican functionaries throughout the state. His program from the very beginning called for a super-welfare state. So he won the election, and proceeds, with a commendable fidelity to the voters he wooed, to put his program into effect—and everyone, the Legislature, the newspapers that backed him, the voters, starts yelping! Where do they expect to get the money from, for all those benefits they voted for? Mississippi? We believe the states should pay their way, and therefore back the swollen tax-bill of Governor Rockefeller. Unless the people are saying they have now thought twice about Mr. Rockefeller's benefactions, and are prepared, on sober second thought, to do without them, or him.

● "Sure, there are second thoughts [about spending]," a Liberal Democratic Congressman has "confided" to a *Wall Street Journal* reporter. "In the flush of victory, everyone promises to carry out every promise he made. . . . [As] we get ready to act, we realize we have to scale down some of those proposals." NATIONAL REVIEW promises to help find ways of doing that, and on top of that promises to carry out the promise.

● The Reverend Adam Clayton Powell Jr. quakes at the thought of offtrack betting, which he has denounced as "immoral" and "treacherous." Mr. Powell, who is under indictment for falsifying his tax returns (a fact the older members of the community may recall), has accused Mayor Wagner of "falling victim to the philosophy that the end justifies the means." All this because the wretched Mr. Wagner is trying to find *some* way to get the money he needs to administer the government of the City of New York on a scale to which he has accustomed the voters, and is desperate, having recently looked into the cupboard and found it very nearly bare. Although Mr. Powell is a parson, we presume to disagree with him: there is nothing immoral about betting on which horse will come in first, and if betting *is* immoral, it is not rendered moral by the mere act of traveling to a racetrack to place the bet. Mr. Powell does not know very much about morality, and Mr. Wagner does not know very much about economics, so that when Mr. P goes and makes moral judgments on Mr. W's economic proposals, the results are, well, quaint.

● A question for Walter Reuther: Who said *"The ideal condition for a union is to be strong and stable, and yet to have in the trade, outside its own ranks, an appreciable number of men who are non-unionists. . . . a nucleus of unorganized labor to check oppression by the unions as the unions check oppression by the employer . . ."*? Answer: That old union-buster, Justice Louis D. Brandeis.

● A recent issue of the London *Economist* comes out in favor of 1) repeal of all sabbatarian legislation now on Britain's statute-books, 2) repeal of the Labouchere amendment (which makes homosexuality unlawful), and 3) removal of the existing legal barriers to the performance of abortions ("the matter [should be] left absolutely at the doctor's discretion"). "Let the list lengthen," the *Economist* proclaims, for "Britons are not as free as they think." Some of us might add: If the *Economist* has its way, Britons will be a lot freer than they ought to be.

● Noted in the *New Republic*: "It is one of the ironies of the Big Three newsmagazines that the proprietor with a reputation for the most extreme political bias—David Lawrence—publishes a newsmagazine with a reputation for being the least biased of the three—*U.S. News & World Report*." Which reminds us of an old, half-forgotten proverb—He with too many ironies in the fire will get his preconceptions singed.

● Confronted with reporters' questions concerning the political memoirs of the late Maulana Agad, which accused Nehru of having committed "grievous blunders," Prime Minister Nehru followed the example of his old friend Bulganin, and confessed. He might, he said, have averted the tragedy of a partitioned India when the choice was his in 1946. The installation of his daughter as new president of the Congress Party "might not be a good precedent." Nehru's recently resigned special assistant, M. O. Mathai, might indeed have abused his position by "throwing his weight around" and acting "foolishly."

Hindu-Moslem peaceful coexistence might have been a reality today had Nehru been less impulsive with the Moslem League both before and after World War II. Mr. Nehru failed to add that India might have got along better under leaders less prone to such blunders.

● The Reverend Martin Luther King, who was catapulted from command of the Montgomery (Ala.) bus boycott to top national leadership in the NAACP, is now in India, there to be feted and to study Indian techniques of non-violent resistance. The United States, he predicted to Indian audiences and reporters, will be totally integrated in "all phases of social life" by the year 2,000. Does he consider the family unit a "phase of social life"?

● The seating arrangements of the National Assembly in France's Fifth Republic posed grave symbolic problems. De Gaulle's UNR party, the largest by far, demanded and got the central position in the semicircular Chamber of Deputies. The Communists and Socialists, both in opposition, were allotted the inaccessible benches on the far left. This put the MRP (the Catholic Popular Republicans) and the various Radical Socialist splinters, which consider themselves parties "of the Left" but are part of the Debré Government, in a quandary. Where to sit? After much disputation it was decided that enclaves would be carved out for them in the upper benches, just back of the UNR (but neither to the right nor to the left of it). This left the far right to the Independents, the Peasants, and the deputies from Algeria, whose physical apartness from the UNR is already taking on political significance. It is from the far right—from the men who believe Algeria must remain an integral part of France—that the first important opposition to the de Gaulle regime has developed. The Rightists, at the moment, are more embarrassing to de Gaulle than the disorganized Communists and Socialists, isolated away over on the left.

● Both the USSR and Iran now deny that harsh words and unkind have passed between them. Soviet Ambassador Pegov insists he never said Russian troops would invade Iran if it signed a defense treaty with the United States. And Iranian Foreign Minister Hekmat claims he never said American troops would go to Iran's rescue "if a single Russian soldier crossed the border." But these routine diplomatic denials do not conceal the fact that the Soviet Union did, in fact, threaten war if Iran signed up with the U.S. And why not? Russia has lost nothing by the gambit. This is the way she often talks to small nations whose policies displease her. And there was just the possibility that she might have discovered that Iran's will to resist had been subverted; that with an eye on Baghdad, Shah Riza Pahlevi might now be willing to join the neutralist camp.

● The legal façade for the vengeful execution of many of Batista's followers was stripped aside briefly last week when a revolutionary court in Santiago de Cuba so far forgot its responsibilities as to acquit 43 airmen charged with war crimes. (*I.e.*, of flying missions against Cuban rebels.) Having tried and found the men guilty in his own mind, Premier Castro declared the verdict of the revolutionary court to have been in "great error" and ordered a retrial. "It would be the height of ingenuousness of a people and of a revolution to free those who have been the most cowardly assassins and servants of the tyranny," he said. And added that the prosecution has just as much right of appeal as the defense "if the sentence is not just." In Cuba, simple justice today has given way to that handy substitute which goes under the name—revolutionary justice.

● COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS, GEMUETLICHKEIT DIVISION (a report from *Izvestia* of a social gathering of Party leaders): "Delegates and guests [talk] with animation and gaiety. Ho Chi-Minh [North Vietnam], who has been providentially seated in the center of the group, makes a joke. Jacques Duclos [France] bursts into a contagious laugh while exchanging quips with his neighbors from Cheliabinsk [Russia] . . . Happy and smiling, Jacques Duclos stands on tiptoe and kisses Ho Chi-Minh on the forehead, deeply moved. In response, the latter fraternally embraces the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France. 'Communism is invincible,' proclaims Jacques Duclos in French to the roaring approbation of the group. 'Invincible,' repeats Ho Chi-Minh in Russian, emphasizing every syllable. They leave by the corridor, animated, grasping the hands of the delegates and repeating, 'Thank you dear friends! We are proud of you, Soviet brothers.' To which these reply: 'Transmit our salutations to the Communists of France! We wish great success to the heroic people of Vietnam in the construction of socialism.' "

● 1) The U.S. gives Bolivia $129 million in economic aid. 2) *Time* magazine reports that a man who works for the U.S. government (he is unnamed) says that the money hasn't done Bolivia any good, and adds facetiously that as a matter of fact Bolivia is so loaded down with troubles the only thing that would do any good would be to divide it (Bolivia) and them (the troubles) up among surrounding countries. 3) Bolivian patriots get sore and burn a U.S. flag and stone the U.S. Embassy, and the President of Bolivia says that's just what you'd expect from "international

capitalism," and a young boy gets shot somewhere along the line. 4) Representatives of the U.S. government say that they're very sorry, that they are sure *Time* made the story up, that all people who work for the U.S. down to the last man believe the $129 million has paid off grandly in sheer good neighborliness. 5) More money for Bolivia next go-around, to prove we really *are* sorry that *Time* told the truth?

Judge Morris' Irony

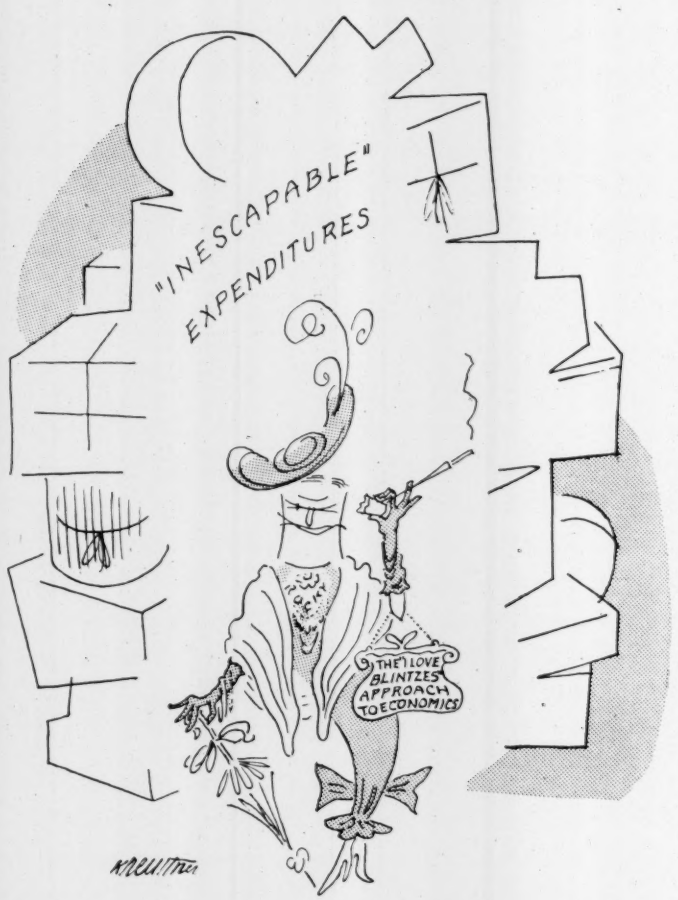
Judge Robert Morris was defeated in New Jersey last year in his bid for the Republican nomination for Senator, but may very well end up occupying the seat now held by Senator Clifford Case, thus doing his country the double service of furnishing it with his own services and relieving it of Senator Case's. Last week, in a speech before the Pittman Businessmen's Association in New Jersey, Judge Morris, who was once chief counsel to the Senate's Internal Security Subcommittee, made an excellent point. It will not do, he said, to assume that the paralysis in our effort to neutralize the domestic Communists is due exclusively to the activity of the Supreme Court. Why has not Congress acted to undo some of the Supreme Court's mischief, as it has the undoubted power to do? Why has not the Executive rallied public sentiment behind congressional proposals to do that necessary something to assert its authority in matters over which it has jurisdiction?

Judge Morris quoted two events of the preceding week, of dramatic dialectical relationship. The first was a statement by the managing editor of the Communist *Worker,* William L. Patterson. "American reaction," said Mr. Patterson, "has . . . sustained a number of defeats on the political as well as the moral front. *We say this because it must be made clear that the prevailing political atmosphere permits increasing activities with a lessening degree of victimization.*" Antithetically, the American Bar Association that same week praised the record of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and of the Senate's Internal Security Subcommittee, and urged them to continue to direct their best efforts to meeting the grave challenge posed by Communist infiltration.

"The action by the ABA," said Judge Morris, "creates an atmosphere under which it would be favorable for all internal security agencies to shake off their lethargy [yes, it is true. A number of them, particularly the Senate Subcommittee, have been somnolent in recent months] and take action." Symbol of the growing power of domestic Communists, said Judge Morris, is Communist Harry Bridges, who is "more influential in the Hawaiian Islands and the continental United States than ever before," and who is free to travel "around the world . . . discrediting our way of life. Our softness at this crucial time is one of the greatest ironies of our history. And this at a time when Soviet power has never been greater, or Khrushchev's threats more menacing."

On Balance, a Good Thing

The European Common Market, that modern super-*Zollverein* which is slowly coming into being as France, Germany, Italy and the Benelux nations concert more and more of their economic policies, is under fire from two extremes. From Scandinavia Dr. Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish socialist economist, has offered doubts that the dismantling of tariffs and exchange controls will really result in economic efficiency unless workers are permitted to migrate freely. And from Bonn, in West Germany, no less a free-trader than Dr. Ludwig Erhard, who has just turned down a nomination for the West German presidency in order to remain as Adenauer's economics minister, has expressed fears that the Com-



"If you deny that these expenditures are Inescapable, you're just not facing up to my responsibilities!"

mon Market will tend to become a regional autarchy committed to the exclusion of U.S. and British exports.

No doubt there is much to be said for the idea that the Common Market does not go far enough in the direction of restoring unchecked mobility of men and materials on a world-wide basis. But aren't Gunnar Myrdal and Ludwig Erhard both making the old mistake of letting the best become the enemy of the good? True, it would be more satisfactory if there were a World Common Market, or at least a Common Market of the West, with migration made easy for workers who have been displaced locally by the elimination of high-cost marginal industries. But even a defective West European Common Market is better than continued Franco-German, and Franco-Italian, trade enmity. And with the six Common Market countries all contributing to a fund for the development of France's overseas possessions, the West European free trade area must fruitfully encompass considerably more than the small geographical area of West Europe itself.

We are for the European Common Market as a beginning. Besides, both the U.S. and the British Commonwealth can, economically speaking, take care of themselves. A strong West Europe means a stronger barrier against Soviet expansion; and with or without high tariffs against the U.S., that is something to be desired.

Oil and Trouble

We confess to complete puzzlement over the incontestable fact that the Soviets have started to export oil to this country. On February 26 the Italian tanker *Punta Spiga,* from the Black Sea port of Constanza, completed discharging 16,500 tons of low sulphur residual fuel oil from Rumania at the Edgewater Terminal in New Jersey; and other cargoes are expected shortly as a result of Dow Chemical Company's commitment to buy 27 million gallons of benzene from the Soviet government.

What could be behind this sudden incursion of the Russians into local oil markets? Does it mean that the Soviets, suddenly and against all the available information, have oil to spare? Does it mean there have been new oil strikes in Siberia, or possibly an increased flow in the old fields of Rumania and Baku? Or could it mean that the progress of Russian rocketry, with its concomitant development of new fuels, has rendered large reserves of oil unnecessary to modern war? Or (still another possibility) is it merely that the Kremlin, knowing that the U.S. is contemplating mandatory prohibitions against oil imports from Venezuela and Canada, has decided to provoke us into a more complete oil autarchy just to make all the overseas oil countries mad at us?

Since the whole business is just about as murky as a tin of used crankcase oil, we suggest that Washington resist off-the-cuff judgments of Soviet motives. The Kremlin may want us to slap on oil import quotas (from Russia and everywhere else) just to make sure we will use up our own reserves!

The Right to Close Down

Back in 1956 the Textile Workers Union of America won an election in the Darlington Manufacturing Co., a cotton textile mill in South Carolina employing 500 workers, by the slim margin of eight votes. Since the mill was losing money and the union threatened to make demands that could not be met, the Darlington board of directors recommended to the stockholders that the plant be liquidated and the assets sold at auction.

The reaction of the union was that neither the Darlington Manufacturing Co. nor Mr. Roger Milliken, its President, had any right to go out of business. During the past two years Mr. Milliken has been cited three times as a respondent by personnel representing the National Labor Relations Board. The union has demanded that compensation be paid its dismissed workers not only by the Darlington Manufacturing Co. (which no longer exists) but also by Deering, Milliken and Co. (which used to be its selling house), and by Mr. Milliken personally. In each case of citation as a respondent Mr. Milliken has been dismissed from the complaint. After all, there is no law compelling a man to stay in business.

Or is there? On March 17 still another hearing will be held in Charlotte, North Carolina, with Mr. Milliken again cited as a respondent. To paraphrase an old gag, Comes the Revolution you'll stay in business and like it.

Call to Free Men

The name Ernesto de la Fe is not known in this country, but in Cuba and much of Latin America he symbolizes honorable, steadfast and incorruptible anti-Communism. In recent years he has exposed, impartially, the brutalities of Batista, Castro and the Communists. Now he has been condemned, by Castro, to die.

In some men de la Fe appears to inspire the kind of devotion Carlo Tresca inspired in his friends. Enrique Castro Sarias, columnist for Mexico City's respected *El Universal,* has issued a "Call to Free Men." We reproduce excerpts from it, and direct them to the attention of the members of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, who will play host to

In Hitler's Mirror

By one of those dialectical paradoxes that shape the pattern of the Revolution, the Bolsheviks, while aiming at a total break with the past history of mankind, pay scrupulous attention to historical precedent and symbol. When Nikita Khrushchev greeted Harold Macmillan at the Moscow airport, he saw before him not merely a particular tall, wealthy, well-groomed, perfectly mannered Englishman, but a symbol of "decadent finance-capitalist imperialism." As symbol, the Prime Minister of 1959 fused into the 21-year-old image of a predecessor, also tall, wealthy, well-groomed and perfectly mannered, who bore, however, an umbrella instead of a new fur hat as he journeyed from London to plead with a short, poverty-sprung, badly dressed and vile-mannered upstart driving toward universal dominion.

In March 1938 Hitler had absorbed Austria. That summer he demanded "return" of the Sudetenland, and threatened to use every means to gain his end. Twice in September Sir Neville Chamberlain went in person to Berchtesgaden to beg the Fuehrer to spare mankind the catastrophe of a new war. At Hitler's bidding, a Summit Conference met at the end of the month. On September 30, Hitler, Mussolini, Daladier and Chamberlain issued their joint "Peace Declaration." On October 1, as first agreed step toward that Peace, the Reichswehr rolled across the Czech border, through the Sudeten region and on into Prague.

In Khrushchev's eyes Sir Harold is only another Sir Neville; a lesser, more contemptible Sir Neville, indeed, as reflecting a British Empire so vastly weakened over these two decades. The deliberate purpose of Khrushchev's rudeness was to express publicly, to his own subjects and to the world, this denigrating estimate. By the discourtesies of his "electioneering" speech, by the sore tooth that kept him from the Kiev trip with the Prime Minister but did not prevent a jovial evening with the Iraqi delegation, Khrushchev was giving his political evaluation of Great Britain's present role. There is no need, he was saying, for me to be polite to junior messenger boys.

In the electioneering speech, echoed three nights later by Mikoyan, Khrushchev rejected the Western proposal for a foreign ministers' conference on Germany. He called, as Hitler before him, for a Summit Meeting. In his call the insult and the political evaluation were implicitly repeated: the chiefs of the puppet governments of East Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia must sit by the chief of Russia, in parity with the chiefs of West Germany, Britain and France, sitting alongside the President of the United States. To accept a Summit Meeting in such a form would be to recognize the Soviet standpoint on the Germanies, on East Europe and on world relations.

Though Khrushchev then agreed to a foreign ministers' meeting, provided it is viewed as preliminary to a Summit Meeting and grants satellite representation, the concession should not be cherished as a sign of Soviet weakness. Khrushchev is supremely confident that a Summit Meeting in 1959, whenever it comes, will yield to him on Germany just as the Summit Meeting of September 1938 yielded to Hitler on Czechoslovakia. And why not? he asks himself. Now as in 1938 the leaders of the West approach the totalitarian dictator as men of peace, not merely by personal predilection and from fear of the dreadful consequences of another war, but because their nations and their civilization have nothing to seek or gain through war—nothing, that is, save survival. In 1938 they were ready, when Hitler seemed poised for a showdown, to buy peace in their time at the cost of a "compromise" on the Sudetenland. So in 1959, if Khrushchev appears poised for a showdown, the Western leaders, in order to save the peace, will surely not be so "inflexible" as to refuse a "compromise" on Berlin and German rearmament. So it must seem to Khrushchev. Has not Mr. Eisenhower thrice declared that he will go "anywhere" to talk with "anyone" to preserve the peace?

The differences between Khrushchev's 1959 operation and Hitler's in 1938 are altogether in Khrushchev's favor. His military strength and geopolitical resources are much greater than Hitler's. Two of his principal opponents—Britain and France—are no longer major powers. Much of Asia and Africa, once auxiliaries of the West, is in anti-Western revolt. In relation to the specific theater of crisis, Khrushchev has the tactical advantage of Berlin's vulnerability. Free Berlin, exposed and geographically isolated, is an Archimedean lever on which Khrushchev can press in order to move the Western world into his trap.

Will the West stand firm against this pressure? More particularly, will the President stand firm?—for in the approaching climax, the will of the West is inevitably focused in Mr. Eisenhower's will. There is some encouragement in the fact that during the past fortnight the President has begun to sound more like a commander-in-chief than a bored and evasive civilian executive. The test will be harsh before it is over. Let us trust that General Eisenhower remembers that what is basically at stake for us this spring is not just Berlin or Germany, but our own survival.

Dr. Castro next month at their annual convention.

"I send a call," writes Sarias, "to all truly democratic consciences from the Rio Grande to the cold lands of the north to stop this injustice, to raise their voices and ask—nay, demand—the freedom of this courageous anti-Communist fighter. I [hope] . . . to spark the consciences of the free men of America and to mobilize their forces for justice. De la Fe put pen and heart at the service of liberty . . . Let us not permit that he sacrifice his life! Let us make each newspaper column a voice demanding his release. If we do not have machine guns, we have our typewriters and the whip of our words which have cowed the bloodiest of tyrants. Let us take up our pens and, before the black mouths of the guns, show that the free men of America will mount guard over *one* victim of the Communist conspiracy in Cuba . . ."

"I am at peace," Ernesto de la Fe has written a personal friend from La Cabana Military Prison. "Are they, I ask, who raised the finger to guillotine me?" Or they who decline to raise their voices to save him?

Going, Going . . .

The other day, at a party, we ran into a young lady who, two short years ago, spent most of her waking hours denouncing Joe McCarthy. She was still in fine vocal fettle. But this time she had a new devil—no less a person than Labor Leader Jimmy Hoffa.

Would it be going too far astray to take such a portent as prophetic of woe for a Labor leadership that has become more arrogant than the Vanderbilts of old? True, there are no visible signs that Labor Monopoly is in for tough sledding. The McClellan Committee hearings move inexorably toward nothing; and, at the beginning of a new Congress, the AFL-CIO hierarchy stands poised for a grand onslaught on the Taft-Hartley Act. Meanwhile, a piddling group of newspaper deliverymen manages to halt the publication of New York City's newspapers for three weeks at the height of the Christmas shopping season to gain a trifling change in distribution of benefits; Jimmy Hoffa, under a cloud in his own Teamsters Union, brazenly attempts to organize the New York police force (why not try for the Pentagon next?); and Walter Reuther, quite indifferent to the fact that he caused the disease in the first place, asks for federal medicine for a depressed Michigan which cannot compete with Right-to-Work Indiana in the matter of new factory locations and expansions. Indeed, Bourbonism among the Bourbons was positively puritanical compared to the Bourbonism that is running rife among the current crop of high Labor functionaries.

But pride goeth, etc. Remembering this, we take hope from the spectacle of the young lady, Liberal and all that, who has effected a transferral of her animosity from the late Joe McCarthy to a Labor skate. Lesser pebbles have caused mighty avalanches. Who knows, maybe the immovable has started to move.

P.S. A Department of Justice spokesman has suggested the government may prosecute the bigger unions under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. On that, we won't bet. Not until we hear *two* young ladies, Liberal and all that, denouncing Jimmy Hoffa as they once denounced Ole Debbil Joe.

New Yorkers! ***Don't miss it!***

HARVARD

VS.

PRINCETON

in the season's fourth

NATIONAL REVIEW FORUM:

"Should Nuclear Tests Be Banned?"

The Varsity Debate Teams of these two great universities will debate the issue, designated by the intercollegiate debating fraternity as the national debate topic for 1958-1959. The master of ceremonies will flip a coin, and on that basis assign to the teams the positions they are to take. After the debate, the students will constitute a panel to question James Burnham, the noted expert on cold-war strategy and author of *National Review's* column, "The Third World War."

HUNTER COLLEGE AUDITORIUM

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Hesto Presto

Joseph S. Clark, itinerant ex-Mayor of Philadelphia and presently Pennsylvania's senior Senator, is the happy mother of another panacea. Born in the current issue of the *Nation*, this particular cure-all answers the dilemmas of commuter chaos, congested traffic, deteriorating schools, and increasing slums with urban planning on the federal level. Senator Clark, in proposing a Department of Urban Affairs as a Cabinet position, offers a rare insight into the obscure metaphysics of a confirmed statist:

> I have seen [he writes] the criticism that a new department should not be formed until a philosophy of federal-state-local relations is agreed upon. I think the logic points in just the opposite direction. Governmental philosophies do not spring full-bloom into being; they evolve. But they cannot evolve unless someone in government has responsibility for thinking creatively about them. We will get the philosophy far more quickly if we establish the mechanism first.

To rephrase the Senator's logic: appropriate the money, establish and staff the Department, open its offices and set it to work, and—lo!—a *philosophy*. And if no one else, there's always the Supreme Court ready to define it.

Breakthrough

Professor Morris Freedman of the University of New Mexico has a lot to say in a recent issue of the *American Scholar*, and not of the kind a Liberal finds very easy to say. Mr. Freedman used to be associate editor of *Commentary*, and writes for the *Reporter* and the *New Republic*, where the line is that in America we are frozen in our tracks by a conformity that blows out of the same reaches of Philistia whence came McCarthy. That conformity may exist, Mr. Freedman writes, in which case, in behalf of terminological consistency, let us agree to classify those who fight themselves clear of that conformity "Nonconformists."

But what about the conformity of Nonconformists? he asks. Conservatives know all about it; NATIONAL REVIEW, *e.g.*, has been talking about it for years. But not very often do the Liberals come out with it as flatly as Mr. Freedman does in his piece on the danger of "intransigent nonconformism."

"It is impossible . . . for the nonconformist to say a good word about Dulles, Nixon, Lyndon Johnson or (since Dwight Macdonald's critique in *Commentary*) James Gould Cozzens, or a bad one about Henry James, Adlai Stevenson, Lionel Trilling, or Freud [Mr. Freedman shows himself a little out of date here and there]; or to express approval of any television show (except *Omnibus*, Ed Murrow or Sid Caesar) or of any American movie (except the inexpensive and badly lighted ones, or the solemn westerns like *High Noon*); to dislike any foreign films (except those imitating American ones); . . . to believe that there may be any justice in the official position on Oppenheimer; to defend Western diplomacy on any basis; . . . to criticize Arthur Miller or Tennessee Williams as playwrights or otherwise (of course, the shifting popularity of each is constantly causing nonconformist adjustments); to like Tschaikovsky or Irving Berlin, or to dislike Leonard Bernstein or Mozart . . . and so on.

". . . Since some of the items I list are clearly considered heinous heresies in some quarters and likely to cost individuals professing them their jobs or at least their reputations, I hasten to add that I know no one guilty of more than one of them; as for myself, I plead the fifth."

Our Contributors: RICHARD M. WEAVER ("The Regime of the South") is professor of English at the College of the University of Chicago, and a writer of distinction in the field of social criticism. Among his books are *Ideas Have Consequences* and *The Ethics of Rhetoric*. He is a frequent contributor to NATIONAL REVIEW. . . . EDWARD HUNTER ("We're Asking for It in Panama"), an old China hand, is author of *Brainwashing in Red China* and the recent *Black Book on Red China*. . . . JOHN LEONARD ("Western with Symbolism") is a young Californian who has recently joined the staff of NATIONAL REVIEW.

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Nuclear Tests: Hedge against Disaster

The U.S. has renounced the military offensive in the Cold War, and cannot match the Soviet political offensive. Yet it is trying to abandon its only means of developing a successful defense

L. BRENT BOZELL

Last week's reports from Geneva suggest that the negotiations on banning nuclear tests are breaking down. The Soviets evidently see advantages in calling off the talks for a while. The U. S. public position is one of disappointment—witness the President's statement: "We very, very much want an agreement." So that U. S. negotiators will presumably be on hand whenever the Kremlin wishes to make another effort.

For the moment, however, we have been granted a reprieve. It might be well to take the occasion to ask whether we had any business in Geneva in the first place. Part of the answer has been stated many times in NATIONAL REVIEW: that national defense depends on our keeping ahead or at least abreast of the Soviets in nuclear armament; that tests are indispensable for perfecting existing weapons and developing new ones; that the best detection and inspection systems now known afford no guarantee that we would discover Soviet violations of an agreement to stop tests; that, in any event, resumption of U. S. testing after a Soviet violation would take many months; that therefore an agreement which we would observe and they might not could bring on national disaster.

(These facts were known to U. S. experts last summer when we agreed to the Geneva negotiations; they were dramatically underscored in the fall by a series of underground tests which conclusively refuted the assumption that low yield explosions could be detected. Yet because of "world opinion," the Geneva negotiators plunged ahead. This incredible performance may explain Soviet willingness to let the current talks fail: the Kremlin may figure that if the U. S. will settle for an unsafe inspection system, it may, in time, settle for no inspection system at all. Other things being equal, the Soviets would prefer not to have Americans snooping around the Soviet Union.)

Goals and Expectations

But I submit there are further reasons for regarding the Geneva negotiations as calamitous, and that they readily emerge from a close examination of the over-all strategic context in which such negotiations take place. An examination, that is to say, of the major strategic assumptions of the two contending powers: their *goals;* their *expectations* as to how the contest will ultimately end. While this will take us over some well-trod ground, it is the only ground from which test suspension can be viewed in true perspective.

The U. S. has, fundamentally, three goals. The first is "peace"—to avoid armed conflict. The second is "containment"—to keep free of Soviet influence and control areas that are at present outside the Soviet sphere. The third might be called "victory"—to remove the threat of hostile Soviet power. It is difficult to assign permanent priorities to these goals: while "victory" is always a poor third, the first two change position from time to time, depending on the national mood and on the strategic significance of the current Soviet challenge.

U. S. methods fall under four headings. The first is the maintenance of a military deterrent. The deterrent consists primarily of the Strategic Air Command with its bombers, and eventually its missiles; and secondarily of land and naval forces belonging to us and our allies. Some U. S. planners tend to view the SAC weapon as an adequate answer to any challenge that might occur. Others believe that "massive retaliation" will be a politically inappropriate response to future Soviet probings and minor challenges, and thus that limited retaliatory power must also be available. Neither group, however, desires to build up our military strength to the point of offensive capacity—to the point, that is, where we could attack the Soviet Union without incurring unabsorbable retaliation. President Eisenhower has made this abundantly clear in recent weeks: the true measure of U. S. military preparedness, he tells his critics, is our ability to restrain the Soviets from launching a military operation. His critics do not dispute this basic premise; if they make any assumption contrary to his, it is that the Soviets may be disposed to launch a surprise attack against the U. S. mainland—in which case we would need far more than nuclear parity to offset the initial disadvantage and end up even. Thus the great debate over U. S. military strength remains a debate over what a sufficient deterrent *is*—over what military strength might be needed to *defend* the West.

Economic Aid

The second instrument of U. S. policy is economic aid to allied and neutral nations. Its sole objective, by definition, is containment, and excepting the occasional venture in military intimidation (*e.g.,* Lebanon) it is the *only* answer we have to the internal subversion technique of Soviet expansion. Because it is the only answer we have in this area, and not because it has proved particularly successful, most American leaders have accepted economic aid as a

permanent fixture of U. S. policy.

The third U. S. method is to aid Communist regimes that have fallen out with Moscow or appear to be doing so. Poland and Yugoslavia are the current examples. This is the way the U. S. pursues its "victory" goal.

The fourth is to negotiate when the Kremlin presses for negotiations. This policy has two purposes—one to demonstrate reasonableness and good faith to allies and neutrals (the "containment" goal); the other, to provide the Soviets with a continuing opportunity to demonstrate a change of heart (the "peace" goal). (The former, we may note, is ordinarily the reason Secretary Dulles agrees to negotiations; the latter, the one ordinarily cited by President Eisenhower.) Both purposes were involved in the decision to negotiate about test suspension. Conversely, it is never U. S. policy to initiate negotiations. Since we have no offensive ambitions which we can hope to negotiate with the Kremlin about, we are left with the possibility of discussing reductions of our own positions of strength—a discussion that U. S. leaders are understandably reluctant to invite.

Fond Hope

U. S. expectations can be simply stated. We expect a nuclear stalemate to dominate world politics for a long, long time. The Communist-Free World frontier may shift around a bit—we may get a Yugoslavia, they an Iraq—but the total balance of political forces will probably remain more or less what it is. The way it will end (assuming it ever does) is that the Communist World, frustrated by its inability to grow, will relinquish its ambitions, lighten its pressures on the West, and settle down to living with its own problems. This, U. S. planners fondly hope, will eventually result in the evolution of Communist society into something more resembling our own.

Turning to Soviet assumptions, the Soviet Union's goal (there are not several of them which, like ours, occasionally conflict) is world domination. And of course it envisions the Soviets holding on to what they have as well as moving ahead. The goal, moreover, recognizes the desirability of their winning a world that has not experienced nuclear warfare.

The Kremlin's methods fall under three general headings. First, the USSR, like the U. S., maintains a military deterrent. It must do so to be on the safe side, however remote the possibility of a Western military attack. The deterrent has both a strategic air arm to deal with SAC, and a land arm to dispose of a thrust from Western Europe.

The second method is an extension of the first, but it has an offensive rather than a defensive purpose. The Soviets hope to build a weapons system capable of destroying Western resistance without themselves getting destroyed in the process. As long as the West retains a nuclear capacity, Soviet hopes of success in this area depend on obtaining decisive nuclear superiority; should the West agree to nuclear disarmament, conventional forces in being could bring Eurasia, at the minimum, into the Soviet sphere.

The third Soviet method—the one on which principal reliance is placed—encompasses the whole gamut of activities best described as "political warfare": threats of war, pledges of peace, demands for negotiations, ideological appeals, economic aid, espionage, subversion, intrigue, and so on. Note that this is an offensive weapon and that it has, in most of its aspects, no Western counterpart.

Finally, Soviet expectations. The Kremlin must also recognize the probability of a long nuclear stalemate. Soviet leaders, however, have fairly concrete ideas about the *dénouement*. One possibility (more in the nature of a hope than of an expectation) is that the Soviet Union will achieve a nuclear breakthrough and will be able to impose its will on the West either by ultimatum or surprise attack. The other (very definitely an expectation) is that the world will gradually succumb to Communist political warfare. As nearly as we can tell, the Soviets envision this development in two stages: that Asia, Africa and Latin America will fall victims to forces now at work; and that the resultant political and economic pressures on an isolated Atlantic community will eventually make all hostility impossible.

So much for each side's assumptions. Let us now try to judge where the advantage lies.

The U. S., it would seem, is confronted with three serious dangers. The first is that the USSR will achieve decisive arms superiority. This could happen either through a Soviet scientific breakthrough, or, more likely, through a miscalculation on our part as to what constitutes a sufficient deterrent. Or another possibility: Soviet-nurtured "world opinion" drives us into the incredible folly of mutual nuclear disarmament. The second danger, much more serious, is that Soviet political warfare succeeds in alienating from the West all but its home bases. The third is that we will hold our own over a long period of nuclear stalemate, only to find off at the end that the price of a tie was the evolution in this country of a system of state control indistinguishable from that of the enemy.

Soviet Confidence

By contrast, the Soviet Union has little reason to fear a U. S. offensive strike: since we are content merely to match armament, we are unlikely to achieve the scientific breakthrough that would make such a strike possible; and, in any event, we are committed not to exploit a breakthrough. Nor have the Soviets serious grounds for concern over our aid to dissident Communist regimes. The West's abandonment of Hungary, plus subsequent assurances that we will not support anti-Communist revolutions, are sufficient guarantee that the Kremlin will be allowed a free hand inside the Soviet orbit. (Of course, if European armies, especially the German, were equipped with nuclear weapons, this estimate would change: an eruption in East Germany might bring in the West Germans despite U. S. disapproval.) Finally, the theory that the Soviet dictatorship will mellow over a long period of nuclear stalemate is only that: a theory.

Now I suspect that all of these conclusions are more or less accepted by the leaders of both sides in their moments of repose and contemplation. Hence the note of confidence that has dominated Soviet diplomacy since the Russians achieved nuclear parity. Hence also, the profound uneasiness with which Americans—officials and private persons alike—view the future. True, there is little evidence here of immediate alarm. But which

of our best minds will not admit a feeling of helplessness and despair when they address themselves to the question: How will it all end? Which of them does not see the ultimate issue as either defeat or (in Whittaker Chambers' phrase) a "truce of exhaustion"? Are not the recurrent demands for "flexibility" and "new ideas" simply an acknowledgement of the impasse and a plea for a way out?

U.S. Disadvantages

If we are really interested in finding a way out, I submit that the first step is to acknowledge frankly some of the inherent disadvantages of the American position. One of these is that history—history in the sense of the contemporary movement of forces and people—is *not* on our side. We are caught up in a world-wide movement *away* from traditional Western values. Putting aside the socially neutral factors of technological and military prowess, things are moving in the direction of the Soviet, or collectivist, concept, not ours. This trend may not be a permanent one, but it is one of the facts of life of our own age.

Another is that the peoples and governments of the West are inherently incapable of competing with the Communists in political warfare. It is partly a matter of lacking centralized direction—a Communist asset that the West could acquire only at the price of denying its own essence. It is partly a matter too, of morality and disposition. Take the simple case of cheating on a test-ban agreement: we wouldn't do it. It is mostly a matter, however, of the Cold War's underlying character. The West—in the very nature of the struggle—is *defending* things, not trying to acquire them. This, as much as our renowned lack of "will," deprives us of the motivation and *élan* that successful political warfare requires.

In short, we can count on neither the unaided forces of history nor inspired political activists to find us a way out. The remaining hope is a military one.

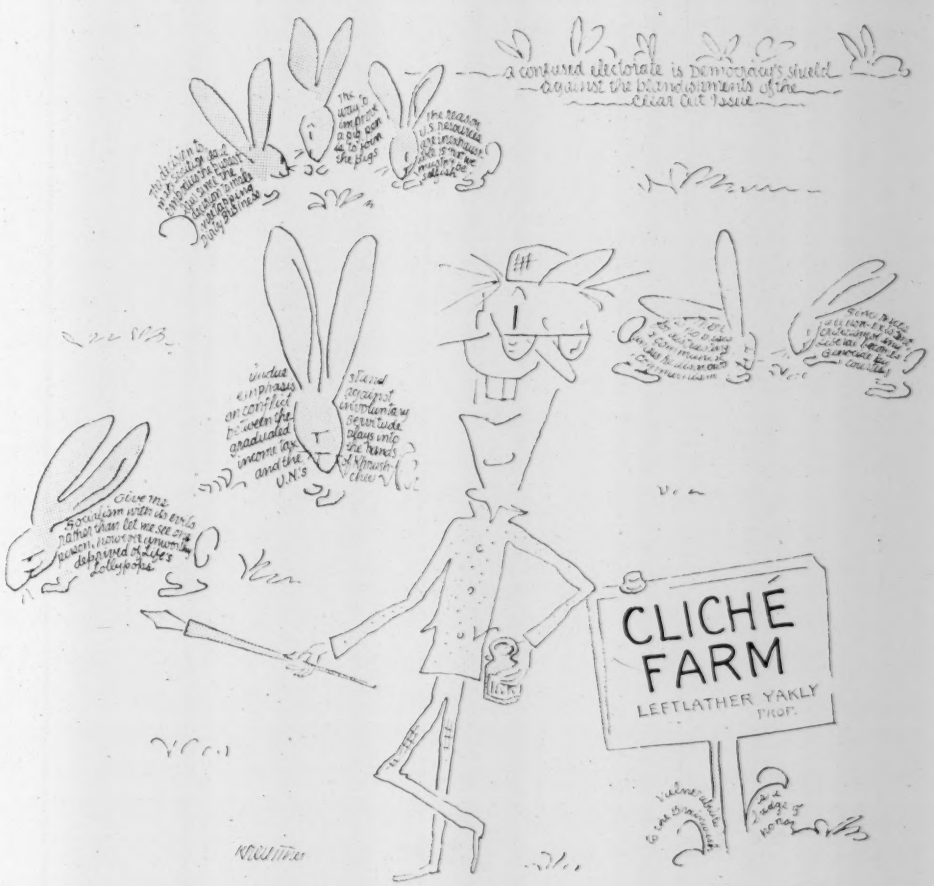
And the question becomes: is there a military response to the Soviet challenge that does not entail wholesale destruction of each side? In theory, there may be. There may be *provided* we want to win, and *provided* we do not preclude the possibility of developing the means of winning—and here is the point—by agreeing to suspend nuclear tests.

Possible Solution

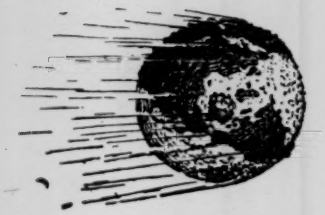
American nuclear experts believe it is feasible to develop small, clean nuclear weapons, the size a man can carry, for tactical use in land warfare. If NATO forces could be equipped with such weapons before the Soviet army has them in operation, the West would have land superiority in Europe. And if both armies got them at the same time, the West would still have the advantage because of friendly populations on either side of the Iron Curtain. Should a rebellion occur in Eastern Europe under such circumstances—and these circumstances would, themselves, encourage rebellion—the West could move swiftly to cut a chunk from the Communist empire. Such offensive action would have to be combined, of course, with a believable threat to use our strategic air arm in the event the Soviets countered with theirs.

Would the Kremlin back down? The reason for thinking it would—rather than opt for mutual destruction—is precisely the one that chiefly explains the Soviets' strength: their conviction, buttressed by experience, that time and history are on their side. That "one step backward" would be followed by "two steps forward." We would hope, of course, that several successful rebellions would prove Lenin wrong—that they would soon provoke internal disintegration of the Soviet Union itself.

This theory is not new to certain minority counsels of the U. S. government. But of course it will never be more than a theory if we conclude an agreement to stop nuclear tests.



"Notice how by admitting there are some evils you avoid having to enumerate them, thereby creating the impression that they're trivial and that socialist lollypops are in plentiful supply!"



The THIRD WORLD WAR

JAMES BURNHAM

Trade or Economic Warfare

Nikita Khrushchev customarily seasons his threats of our speedy annihilation with offers of expanded trade. Anastas Mikoyan, during his recent reconnaissance, never failed to dangle the carrot of trade before his bemused audiences of American business leaders.

Slogans about trade with the Soviet Union have been a routine feature of Communist propaganda within every non-Soviet nation. The U. S. Communist Party regularly demands a 5 or 10 or 20 billion dollar credit to Moscow as the basis for a Soviet-American trade program that will presumably guarantee jobs, prosperity and peace.

It is not only collaborators, like Cyrus Eaton, and dupes, like the Henry Wallace of yesteryear, who echo the Communist sirens. Many normal businessmen, European as well as American, believe that there are healthy, legitimate profit-making opportunities in an expansion of Soviet trade.

Politicians and ideologists usually stress another of the Communist-supplied arguments. Active mutual trade—we are told by Senator Humphrey, Chester Bowles, Norman Cousins and Aneurin Bevan—is the road to peace. Through trade we supply each other's needs, get to know each other better by pulling down Iron Curtains, and transform cold wars into peaceful international competition for world progress and prosperity.

From Abstract to Concrete

Stated in the abstract the case for Soviet trade is airtight. *Of course* it is bad that the world market should be split into two fenced-off portions. *Of course* increased trade between two regions can be to their mutual profit. *Of course* trade might be a means of promoting understanding and world peace.

But these textbook economic abstractions, which confound the judgment of many men of good will, do not apply to the political and historical reality that we concretely face. They fail to take account of the specific nature of Soviet Russia and its empire, or of Communist doctrine and practice. They obscure the fact that all these decades of talk about trade with the Soviet Union rest on a confusion of terms.

Actually Moscow does not have the slightest interest in foreign trade, nor the smallest intention of engaging in any foreign trade at all in our sense of the term. When Communists speak of "foreign trade," what they mean is *economic warfare,* just as they mean *psychological warfare* when they speak of "cultural exchange."

Both inside and outside the Iron Curtain the Russian commissars, like the Russian Czars before them, use foreign trade as an instrument of state power and aggrandizement. Within the imperial limits trade policy exploits the subject nations and peoples, and chains them economically to Russia. Outside the empire, foreign trade—which has never amounted to very much in quantity under either Czars or commissars—seeks to overcome key domestic shortages, provide models for imitation, and weaken the enemies of Communism in preparation for their conquest.

Aluminum and Microscopes

Observing the troubles of the Belgian coal industry a couple of years ago, the Kremlin began throwing Rumanian oil on the central European market. The result is the recent closing of several dozen Belgian mines, with 17,000 miners out of work Watching the aluminum situation, the Russians a year ago suddenly offered aluminum at an artificially low price that disrupted the Canadian and British aluminum producers and helped bring British Aluminum to the point where, six weeks ago, it had to be sold to a United States-dominated combine. Sales of tin have been similarly timed and priced to keep Malaya and Bolivia in economic turmoil.

To gain prestige in our vulnerable academic circles, the Russians are at the moment dumping laboratory equipment in this country. To entangle Egypt and Brazil they bought up surplus Egyptian cotton and Brazilian coffee. They further entangle the underdeveloped nations by loading them up with obsolescent arms, shipped complete with Soviet instructors. They always try to get the latest models of advanced machines and instruments, sometimes to supply their lacks, often to use as prototypes for their own production. Always they squeeze the last drop of publicity out of trade or credit or construction deals that are often of trivial importance from a strictly economic standpoint.

Trade and Strategy

These operations, as the Kremlin conducts them, have little to do with normal foreign trade based on market and price relations. Sometimes they have a partly economic motive—to fill a desperate Soviet need or get rid of a monetary surplus resulting from a vagary of the Economic Plan. But the primary and often exclusive motives are political and strategic: to subvert the enemy, divide his ranks, strike at his weakness.

For a while we tried to counter Russian economic warfare by enforcement of a boycott on "strategic goods." That negative stand is inadequate, but a good deal better than active help to the enemy under his slogan of "trade." Even the partial boycott has now been pretty well abandoned.

Although a statist enemy has an initial advantage, the British and we proved against the Nazis that we are not bad at aggressive economic warfare once we have decided to conduct it seriously. That—and *neither* trade *nor* aid—is what is really called for.

We're Asking for It in Panama

Why is no American concession to Panamanian demands ever enough? Because, Mr. Hunter says, Communist agents are constantly fomenting hatred of the U.S.

EDWARD HUNTER

Pigeons come home to roost. This is the plain logic behind much of the news from Latin America. Panama is a specific example. Organized student groups already have demonstrated for a fifty-fifty split on the Panama Canal tolls, ignoring U.S. expenditures; for a monopoly of Canal jobs by Spanish-speaking peoples, which would squeeze out the Yankees; for the "return" of the Canal through nationalization.

The political opposition to the present Panama regime has used students callously as a ferment, incited and guided from the shadows by Communists. The demagogues are hell-bent for all the U.S. cash and spoils they see others gathering in Europe and Asia by irresponsible tactics. Why should Panamanians have to work for a living when they have this lucrative canal running through their country?

They see the "Colossus of the North" talking big but ultimately giving in whenever anyone creates trouble. The pattern is simply to raise the roof, then relax in return for concessions by Washington in return for agreeing to negotiate what before had not been considered subject to negotiation; and then to repeat the process as often as convenient. If America's enemies can get away with it, why not her friends?

This is the attitude behind cryptic items that have appeared spasmodically in some of our newspapers, such as a couple of paragraphs in the *New York Herald Tribune* not long ago, from AP wires, reading:

> The seizure of two batches of arms by the National Guard has nipped a plot of students and opposition politicians for a nationwide uprising within a week, official sources said.
>
> The seizure of arms on Monday and yesterday resulted in twelve arrests, including four persons identified as students and two prominent in opposition groups. Three other arms caches involving students have been uncovered in the last two months.

A subsequent item told of eight bomb explosions in Panama City and of a "call by striking students for a general nation-wide strike against President Ernesto de La Guardia's government." Schools were closed, but otherwise the strike fizzled out. There was no issue. Somebody behind the scenes had revived an old issue, created in a week of riots the preceding May when a number of persons, including a student, were killed and many more wounded.

Students, principally high-school boys and girls, were seen during those riots, fanning out according to textbook rules for an insurrection. Molotov cocktails were exploded and many buildings badly damaged. Roadblocks cut off sections of the city; all business was suspended; shops were closed; government offices were besieged; public services, including newspaper publication, were halted.

Students as Pawns

The students were not the prime movers in all this. They were being used. Student representatives protested later that they weren't the people who had started overturning autos on the streets. They declared, too, that politicians had tried to sell them arms. A dirty war was being waged, with children as pawns. This was not in the Latin character.

Witnesses generally agreed that a sprinkling of men in their thirties and forties had mingled with the children and had done most of the actual destruction and shooting. At a certain hour a big gang of hoodlums, brought in from outside, shoeless and raging for loot, were set loose on the capital. All this took planning.

Whose planning it was, behind the students and behind the politicians who would play any game for a chance at power, was shown when one demonstration nearly miscarried. On the afternoon of May 22, mothers and girl students were assembled and started marching toward the presidential palace along a route that would take hours, in a fevered city with snipers wildly shooting about. When they reached the National Bank corner, male students, responding to their true, inner character, spontaneously formed a cordon, linking hands, to march in front as protection. By then more than a thousand mothers and girls were in line. But this was obviously contrary to someone's intent. They had gone only a short distance when a notorious professional student, old enough to be the father of some of the boys, dashed out in front. He was Cleto Manuel Sousa, a Communist organizer who had made his trek to Moscow for "learning." He took charge, made a short speech, called for the singing of the national anthem, and instructed the men and boys to stand aside and let the women go on alone. Procedure having been restored according to clandestine Red planning, he left the scene.

It was all over very briefly; but it takes only a moment for a shade to be blown aside and disclose what lies behind. Professional students are a routine Red device. They are Soviet agents who persist in flunking courses in order to be able to remain in school and carry on Communist activity. This was the tactic used at Yenching University outside Peking, and was responsible for the entire last graduating class in that Liberal American university, which didn't believe in "interfering" with "student activities," going over to the Communists.

There are comparatively few Communists in Panama. Everyone agrees

that the United States has many true friends there. But it takes only one individual in the right spot—one Hiss—to deflect an organization into a pro-Red line. Communism need never be mentioned. A few Reds, in contact with experienced agents of the Peking-Moscow Axis in South America, stand ready to exploit a favorable situation when it arrives, and once more America won't know what has hit its international affairs.

This phase of Communist planning has been carried on patiently for years. It first came to my attention in March 1935 when I was covering a spy trial in Paris for International News Service. The 23 Reds involved were mostly from Eastern Europe, but included a young American couple from East Orange, N. J. They were Robert Gordon Switz, a commercial aviator and Princeton graduate, and his dainty wife, Marjorie Tilley, a Vassar graduate who turned out to be an expert on invisible photography. They turned state's evidence in return for their release. Most of the others got maximum prison terms, which, being only five years, couldn't have fazed them less. As I witnessed the trial from day to day, I couldn't help noticing the *esprit de corps* among them, the way they collaborated, their strange outside contacts and their triumphantly exchanged raised-fist salute when they were taken from the dock to serve their terms, which they obviously regarded as a brief interlude in their professional activities.

What especially struck me, as an American, was Switz's casual remark to the court that his missions for the Red network included work in the Panama Canal Zone. I asked the judge about this. He said yes, Switz had referred to having spied for Moscow at the Panama Canal; but the matter was not investigated because it concerned America, and the French government was interested only in what happened on its own soil. Paris had informed the U.S. Embassy, though, and I went over to inquire. The most personable, certainly the most informative man in the American Embassy was a lanky young consul named Bob Murphy, now Deputy Under Secretary of State. He assured me that the tip had been cabled to Washington, but what interest, if any, our government had shown in it I could never learn. Those were United Front days. I tried to trace the Switzes on their release, to ask them about it, but they disappeared.

What also struck me was the way this important news was slurred over in the American press. *Time* gave it only a couple of paragraphs, making it sound like a joke. Only later, when I joined the Newspaper Guild in New York and found myself in the thick of the fight that succeeded in ending its Red domination, did I learn how successfully the Communists had planted Red cells in our most conservative publications.

What was obvious, too, was that Panama Canal espionage was being directed from outside the United States by American citizens operating abroad. I got another insight into this while covering the Spanish Civil War. Every American recruit who joined the International Brigade was at once relieved of his passport, which was never returned. The passports were immediately passed on to Red operatives. Unlimited access to American passports is a very important matter for the Communist world network. I told Murphy about this, too. He nodded. He knew. But what could he do? He was only a consul.

American Apathy

There are few subjects in which the American public appears to show less interest—perhaps taking for granted that all is under perfect control—than the Panama Canal. An exception is Daniel J. Flood, Congressman from Wilkes-Barre. Pennsylvania is far from Panama, but what Mr. Flood came upon during his routine work in congressional committees so alarmed him that he fortunately made it his personal crusade. The *Congressional Record* is more filed away than read, but anyone who took the time and trouble to look up the speeches and insertions contributed by Flood on this critical issue would have a book that might not be a best-seller, but would surely be one of the most informative volumes we could have. An entire drawer in a big filing cabinet in his office is stuffed with material on the Panama Canal, and it bears out the premise that the Communist psychological warfare machine is by no means neglecting the Canal Zone.

In overseas Chinese communities everywhere, the utmost pressure is exerted by Peking, through tactics such as the holding of relatives on the Chinese mainland as hostages, to enforce collaboration in Red objectives. We would be naive to believe that the same thing is not being attempted, and to an unknowable extent succeeding, among the large Chinese community in Panama. Every indication of Free World—especially American—surrender to Red demands makes acquiescence in the scheme more probable.

Panamanian officials themselves, from the presidential palace down, taking their cue from Washington's so-called liberal ideological imperialism, are flirting with pro-Reds just in case of further surrender to Communism. The Panamanian government has done so officially in the UN. In mid-September its Foreign Minister, in what the Panamanian press called "a vibrant speech," reasserted Panama's claim to sovereignty in the Zone, which has never been denied; but he left unstated the limitations of a specified, permanent nature set upon this sovereignty by treaty.

Washington seems content so long as the English-language press in Panama remains comparatively restrained. Meanwhile practically the whole Spanish-language press, which the population reads almost exclusively, has been beating the drum for the most extreme demands, including nationalization. This satisfies Moscow, for with a climate of opinion sufficiently doctored, and sufficient propaganda points granted—the latest is the demand that the Panamanian flag fly in the Canal Zone instead of the American—when the time is ripe the issue can be made very uncomfortable for the U.S. Doubletalk in the UN would be sure to put us in the wrong; this has been the routine, with vehemence in lobby discussions where parliamentary trickery is hatched. And in Panama, high-school boys conditioned to participate unthinkingly in demagogic demonstrations can be depended upon for any exploitation the Red interests may require.

That is, if we continue to present a spectacle of surrender made to

(*Continued on p.* 589)

from HERE *to* THERE

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Roundabout Road to Freedom

Not so long ago this department observed that the "bigness" of such automotive giants as General Motors, Ford and Chrysler was no menace to the consumer. The successful competition offered by the American Motors Co., which made astonishingly good profits on its line of "compact" Rambler cars at a time when Ford and Chrysler were actually going into the red, was offered here as evidence that the automobile field was still wide open to a company with a new idea offered at lower prices.

Now that the Ford Motor Co. has decided to go into the "compact" car market on its own, the assertion that any really good "small" man can successfully challenge a giant will soon get its test. Mr. George Romney, the accomplished high wire performer of the American Motors Co., is right on the spot. Personally, this department thinks the daring young man will come through. The reason: Mr. Romney's heart is in his theory, whereas Ford, GM and Chrysler will be working at cross purposes with their own market tradition when they add "compact" cars to their "big" lines.

Despite the fact that he is a living refutation of the idea that an industry dominated by a Big Three must end as a closed preserve, Mr. Romney still thinks the automotive field is rigged against new corporative "births." "From a financial standpoint," so he told the Kefauver Senate Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly, "to start a new company from scratch under present conditions of industry concentration would require a minimum of $250 million on the factory side and another $250 million on the part of the dealers. If, in addition to the bare capitalization, you include product promotion and acceptance, the lack of service business, uncertain resale value and other competitive factors, it would take at least $1 billion on a combined factory-dealer basis to finance a new automotive enterprise."

Mr. Romney therefore thinks the "auto industry has passed the point in its economic growth where we can expect new companies to be organized to promote additional competition," and that the creation of new companies must come from within the industry. Hence the proposition he offered the subcommittee, for "divestiture" of divisions by any big manufacturing company when it reaches the point where it is doing 35 per cent of the business in its field. (Where a company is engaged in more than one basic industry, as is General Motors, Mr. Romney would set the ceiling at 25 per cent.) To make "divestiture" both practicable and attractive, he would free it from "all liability for the capital gains tax up to the date of dissolution."

Right here is where our argument with Mr. Romney begins. If GM and Ford have achieved and kept their dominating positions in the car industry because they have outcompeted the rest in serving the consumer, then why worry about their "bigness"? Indeed, Mr. Romney himself sees nothing wrong with GM and Ford pricing policies, which he thinks are competitive, nor does he have any quarrel with GM's profits, which he says are thoroughly deserved. On the other hand, if a seeming lack of competition should encourage GM and Ford to become slothful, "like boxing champions who lack suitable opponents," then the door would be wide open for American Motors and the foreign car importers to take over. Why does Mr. Romney want "new births" when the customer already has shopping alternatives that range from Cadillacs and Mercedes Benzes to Ramblers and Volkswagens?

At this point Mr. Romney switches his argument to the social field: economic "bigness" is bad, not because it results in product monopoly (it doesn't), but because it encourages big unions. The result, he says, is "pattern-chain-reaction bargaining." To offset the vast power of Mr. Reuther's UAW, the Big Three have begun to collaborate in bargaining with the union. So Mr. Reuther does "the perfectly obvious thing." He goes, says Mr. Romney, to the AFL-CIO convention and secures "the pledged financial support of all the AFL-CIO unions." Thus armed for total war, Mr. Reuther wrings an agreement from either GM or Ford that is based on the lush cash reserves of a behemoth. The little fellow in the industry must meet the same demands even though he lacks the behemoth's bank roll. Moreover, the automotive suppliers "are under pressure from car companies to avoid strikes interfering with car production."

Nor is collective bargaining limited these days "to early union goals of recognition, wages, hours and working conditions." What Mr. Reuther wants from GM and Ford is "not only a share in the profits, but also a share in determining how those profits shall be made and distributed. For example, this would give the UAW the basis on which to insist on the right to negotiate the use of earnings for the maintenance and replacement of worn-out plant facilities, heretofore established solely by owners or their representatives. The union could thus insist on deciding whether the seed corn saved by the owners of the business shall be used to provide future jobs and future income or shall be consumed now in the form of profits paid to workers."

Mr. Romney might concede that companies as big and well-heeled as GM could surrender control of profits and still live in Mr. Reuther's world. But he manifestly doubts that the little fellow can continue to live with the wage-price spiral that every new Reuther-GM or Reuther-Ford agreement seems to set going for the whole manufacturing community.

It is for this reason primarily that Mr. Romney argues for the "unwinding" of the GM and Ford empires. The argument is a compelling one. It occurs to this department, however, that it might be simpler if unionism were to be made a voluntary matter, either by new law or repeal of old law. If small companies weren't forced to take big unions, then they might be able to compete with big companies. Wouldn't that be an easier way out than forcing "divestiture" on a recalcitrant GM?

Letter from London

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

No Comfort for the West

Regarding the international scene from London, I should say things are hotting up.

One symptom was the reaction to Mr. Dulles' illness. He has been mercilessly ridiculed and vilified in the British press, but the news that he was out of action at this juncture caused real dismay. America's allies, hardly less than her enemies, are jittery about the State Department. They need to feel confident that it is being firmly guided by a man of principle, courage and international experience: and, whatever his shortcomings, Mr. Dulles is unquestionably such a man.

As we survey the scene, let's start with a cheerful bit—well, relatively cheerful. The settlement over Cyprus has been hailed as something like a miracle. The spur to agreement did not come from the Cypriotes themselves, weary of violence though they are; the grip of EOKA is too tight for that. Nor did it come from Archbishop Makarios, who had to have new pressure put on him at the last minute by Athens before he would accept the terms of the settlement. It came from the statesmen of Greece and Turkey, who during the past year have begun to be really frightened by the situation they connived at creating. The Cyprus problem was rendering their own political positions impossible and threatened to destroy the entire Southeastern tip of the NATO shield, on which both countries rely for protection against the very present danger of the Communists just beyond their borders.

Most people in Britain have welcomed the settlement: it would have been out of the question to reject it. But there must be reservations. Recent experience has shown that military bases in foreign territory, however firmly secured on paper, are apt to be less availaible and less useful when the test comes than they would have been if the territory were one's own possession. For instance, Archbishop Makarios is on very friendly terms with Colonel Nasser. Are the Cyprus radio stations from which Britain broadcasts, admittedly without much effect, to the Middle East really safe?

More fundamentally disturbing, though, is the inescapable fact that in Cyprus, as in so many other places lately, violence has been shown to pay. Because the Turkish community was prepared to fight back, the terrorists have not achieved union with Greece; but they have succeeded in driving the British out. The truth is that the Western democracies, particularly Britain and America, are simply not equipped, psychologically or tactically, to deal with such situations.

A Continent of Ghanas?

This lesson has not been lost on Mr. Tom Mboya, Dr. Hastings Banda and other leaders of the African National Congress who are now busy setting a continent ablaze. The most violent eruption at the moment is in Nyasaland, but all over Africa—in Southern Rhodesia, in Somaliland, in the Belgian Congo—there are ominous signs of big trouble to come. It is not clear how far the separate conflagrations may be related and centrally organized but the common objective is unmistakable. Every vestige of European control and restraint is to be swept away. There must be no compromises, no slow development, no "fancy constitutions." A continent of Ghanas can hardly be anticipated with equanimity.

The rapidly worsening situation in Africa deserves more notice than it has received. It is undoubtedly being studied with much satisfaction in Moscow. From Sir Roy Welensky down, the white people who actually live with the danger cannot be blamed for wondering if anyone in Britain or America really understands what's going on.

Related items of news add dark shades in the margin. The financial settlement with Colonel Nasser, at a tremendous profit to Egypt, seems to have been completed. No comfort for the West there.

Macmillan in Russia

The front pages, of course, have been devoted mainly to Mr. Macmillan's "reconnaissance" in Russia. Make no mistake: the idea of this visit was very popular. For a long time, the newspapers and the left-wing waverers have been complaining that the West allows Russia to make the running, that talk is the way to peace and that someone ought at least to go and explore the possibilities. This clamor Mr. Macmillan has now satisfied. Though few people flatly opposed the visit, some thought it ill-advised: they were doubtful whether Mr. Macmillan could achieve anything but were afraid he might—thereby playing into Russian hands. Their predictions have been justified but their fears have not.

Mr. Macmillan has not been deceived, wheedled or bullied. He is a tough and shrewd man. If such a visit had to be made and if disasters and platitudes were to be avoided, he was the best possible person to go.

Life, Browning says, may "succeed in that it seems to fail." Mr. Macmillan's trip to Russia was not fruitless even though it failed to produce those utopian fruits of peace for which the popular newspapers hoped. He has shown himself—as he showed himself before over Cyprus—willing to go anywhere and do anything which might help; and at the same time he has shown himself quite unwilling to yield to Russian threats or be divided from his allies. Once more, Mr. Khrushchev's own behavior has made the true situation crystal clear. Such gains in reality are always useful. And a reconnaissance is not meant to be either a battle or a peace conference.

Meanwhile, Africa blazes and the Berlin deadline comes closer. There are voices in Britain which would gladly sacrifice West Germany for the appeasement of Russia, but they are not the voices of leading statesmen on either side of the house. The Socialists might well give way in Africa. They are unlikely to do so over Berlin. Mr. Macmillan's Government certainly will not.

The Regime of the South

Why do Liberals attack the South? Because, says the author, its order, based on custom, history and a common faith, challenges their own hollow nihilism

RICHARD M. WEAVER

In the national controversy raging over segregated schooling, we often hear of "the Southern way of life." I suggest that this phrase is used with too little understanding both by those who wield it for defense and those who hurl it in attack. It is true that the South has a "way of life," but the point that is missed is that a "way of life" is a normal social phenomenon. "Way of life" is in fact our everyday translation of the old term, "regime." And "regime" is a word rich in social meaning.

Modern social scientists have a way of finding or coining words which only obscure their discussions. They could communicate better if they dropped a good deal of their special jargon, but now and then they bring forward a term which is really serviceable. One of the most interesting of these is *anomie*. This word comes from two roots which combine to mean "an absence or privation of custom and order." Interpreted more fully, it signifies a condition of society in which the guide lines of belief and behavior have largely disappeared, so that frustration and chaos reach dangerous levels. A society suffering from *anomie* is in a state of disorganization, from the lack of whatever has previously given it the power to unify and cohere.

Anomie is, in brief, a word for disintegration; and it is the judgment of many students that large parts of the modern world are suffering more or less acutely from *anomie*. If so, the most urgent task of social criticism is to diagnose the condition and find some remedy which will bring the disintegrated parts back into a unity.

The remedy will have to be "regime."

It is the nature of a regime to be much more than the sum of the government and the laws. It is these plus beliefs, traditions, customs, habits, and observances, many of which affect the minutiae of daily living. A regime tells the individual from early days, through his nurture and education, what is expected of him, how he stands in regard to this person and that, and what kind of social response he can expect from the choices that are open to him.

Locations and Directions

Regime is, in substance, a complex of law, custom, and idiomatic social behavior, and it fills all the interstices of life. Described thus in outline, it might appear a set of imprisoning forces, but we must be careful to remember that walls support as well as obstruct. In actual fact a regime is a system of sustaining forms, and everyone who has been in contact with a regime recognizes its capacity to give every man, the high and the low, some sense of being at home. It tends, moreover, to diminish the sense of being "low" by sustaining the sense of belonging.

A regime is thus comparable to the rule of a household. There is a place for everybody, though the place cannot be the same for everybody. The the very fact that we speak of "place" means that we envision a social whole, in reference to which there are locations and directions. The principle of the ordering may be more intuited than reasoned out. Yet this sense of inclusive ordering makes the individual feel that his presence is acknowledged in more than a perfunctory way. A regime is thus a powerful check against the sense of lostness, the restlessness, and the aimless competition which plague the modern masses and provoke the fantastic social eruptions of our era.

The idea of regime is thus an antidote to much that is complained of in modern life. It is, to tell the truth, what all of us except the lawless and the nihilistic are looking for. It is the richest and freest form of communal life because it does not depend on top-heavy government, but upon the voluntary preferences of many individuals, acting and interacting out of respect for some basic values.

There is no doubt, on the other hand, that a regime as a "way of life" is also a principle of exclusion. It is a way of rejecting what is inimical or foreign to the group's nature and of retaining what can be assimiliated. Social and cultural groups, like organisms, must be able to fend off what they cannot accept without ceasing to live. To say that this is a law of life is almost superficial; it is rather a law of existence. Intolerance of what would be fatal is a necessity for survival. The difficulty of most people who have been conditioned by "modern thinking" is to interpret all exclusiveness as having its root in injustice. But this is so far from being true that one can affirm that some degree of exclusiveness is essential to self-identity and self-preservation.

Those societies which have a way of life have a distinctive culture. A culture is a body of forms organized about certain ideas expressing value, which gives structure to the life of a people. In so doing it satisfies psychic needs which cannot be met in any other way. Culture is inexplicable save through reference to this inner need for beliefs, forms, settled dispositions, rituals, and other defined patterns. If these things are somehow lost by a people or are suddenly taken away from them, the result may be so grave as to produce actual illness. A regime therefore is definitely hygienic, and we should look with suspicion upon those who oppose the very idea of regime.

There are many things compelling us to believe that Liberalism is the death-wish of modern civilization. In its incapacity for commitment, its nihilistic approach, and its almost

pathological fear of settled principle, Liberalism operates to destroy everything and conserve nothing. The reason it hates the idea of regime is therefore not far to seek. A regime is sustained by the kind of self-definition and self-constitution which require a love of life and of the positive arrangements that enrich the enjoyment of life. A regime therefore cannot be liberal about itself any more than a man can be "liberal" about his own existence. A regime can be generous, kindly, humane, even humanitarian, but it cannot be liberal in the sense of perpetually entertaining the question of whether it ought to continue. This does not mean that it cannot accept correction or make the empirical changes that are required by changes in the world. But a regime cannot live exclusively on a diet of self-questioning, to say nothing of self-hate. Liberalism has worked itself into an impasse where the only thing that it can postulate is the necessity for questioning what exists. Liberalism cannot postulate anything positive, because such affirmations will carry with them exclusions, and the only source Liberalism can recognize for exclusion is intolerance or "narrow-mindedness."

Some American Regimes

It follows inevitably that the Liberal is exacerbated by the sight of any independent and healthy growth. Such a growth can only remind him of his own hollowness. A regime holds the mirror up to the Liberal. He hates what he sees there, and strikes out in anger against the bearer of the unpleasing image. Those who know that the struggle of these times is neither sectional nor national but world-wide must be prepared to deal with this hatred of regimes as a struggle within the consciousness of the man afflicted by modernism.

Everyone knows that the regime of the South is under heavy assault by Liberalism. But before taking up this conflict in particular, I wish to call attention to the presence of other regimes in the United States. I am not asserting that the South is the only region which has created this form of cultural life. There is no doubt that New England had a regime during a period of its history, a real and a charming one, with its chaste ideals. Yet New England, despite the fact that it was on the victorious side in our civil struggle, does not seem to have been successful in preserving its "way of life." That way lingers north of Boston; and the New Hampshire celebrated by Robert Frost clearly has its appeal to the poet as regime. But the New England regime has certainly decayed in the centers of influence. The very idea of attachment to it is caricatured in the novels of John P. Marquand.

One might claim that even the Old West had a regime during the period when it was, more or less, as it is represented by our cowboy films. The rule by the man who was quickest on the draw, the rough and ready classification of people into good and bad, the figure of the cowboy with his horse and saddle, and the clear lines of social approval and disapproval—these probably add up to a regime, though one based on the transient circumstances of a frontier. The Old West had a structure and an ethos, and these are the essentials of social cohesion.

Today it is not uncommon to hear references to "the American way of life." Whether the American way of life is enough of a piece to be reckoned a regime can be argued one way and the other. If the definition is somewhat relaxed, and if the data are taken from certain areas of activity, perhaps it is. But the important thing about the phrase is that we hear it introduced when the object is to contrast the United States with Soviet Russia or, in some cases, with certain forms of Europeanism.

When we want to stress the way in which we are *really* different from the Soviets, we refer not to our government or the Bill of Rights, but quite properly to our regime, which is to say, our ingrained way of doing things, our habitual preferences, and the rest of what makes up the very fabric of living. This underscores the fact that a regime is not something abstract, like a written constitution, but a multiplicity of matters large and small, which are felt with varying degrees of intensity. It is also a clear warning to those who would attack a regime in the name of some deduced and doctrinaire theory. A regime evokes emotional responses at a thousand and one points. This is the sign of its capacity to make people feel deeply and peculiarly at home with it. When therefore I hear of "the American way of life," I take it as a sign that the Americans have as much natural desire for a regime as does any large group, although some accidents of their history may have kept them from developing more than regional regimes in the full sense intended here.

Three Reasons

Of all the regions of the country, the South has maintained a regime in the clearest and most enduring form. It has a society more unified by imponderables, more conscious of self-definition, more homogenous in outlook than any other region. This is not the place to rehearse the history behind that fact, but I can mention three things which seem to me to explain its persistence. One is the South's adherence to a structural form of society, known odiously in some quarters as "aristocratic." A second is its receptivity to the idea of transcendence, which has been referred to seriously as its religiousness and scornfully as its Bible Beltism. The third is its preservation of history, which by the modern mind is equated with "living in the past." All of these are strong barriers to *anomie*. A stable structural society creates the feeling of permanence because it provides the shelter of an accredited authority which cannot be overturned by tomorrow's vote. The idea of transcendence is the real source of symbolization in life, which persuades men that they have lived and are living for something more than things of the moment. And the preservation of history keeps tradition from seeming arbitrary, endowing it not only with reason but with grace.

It will be recognized that these are conserving forces. The effect of a regime is to conserve and to stabilize. No one has to believe that every particular thing conserved by them is valuable. No society has met that standard, and it certainly has to be granted that societies, like people, are properly subject to correction through appeals to logic and ethics. The South has had the enormously difficult problem of accommodating a large minority distinct in race and culture. But what I am talking about here is a cohesive social ordering, which the

South has had in outstanding measure. The use of the term "Southern culture" is the popular recognition of this fact.

The South is the natural prime target of those who hate the very idea of regime. Anyone who looks beneath appearance to reality must see that the attack upon the Southern school system is but one front of a general attack upon the principle of an independent, self-directing social order, with a set of values proper to itself. It is the one pushed most vigorously now because for a variety of reasons it can draw the most publicity, and it is the kind of action for which the Liberal's sentimentalism makes him most gullible.

The Real Motive

No long memory is needed to recall other fronts on which the attack against the South has formerly been active. Not very long ago the issue was "fundamentalism," and the South was being crucified for holding a religious belief not terribly different from that of respectable contemporary neo-orthodoxy. Later it was the sharecropping system, which certainly brings great wealth neither to owner nor cropper, but which is nothing to get excited over from a distance, unless one starts with a strong initial prejudice. Still later it was the poll tax, again nothing to get excited over unless you believe that adding to the number of votes automatically adds to the amount of wisdom. Thus the attackers have said by their actions, "Any stick to beat a dog!" This is the reason we urgently need to look for the real impulse behind their militancy.

The modern Liberal has confused liberty with power, but the only use he has for power is to destroy. If these fanatical destroyers are allowed to have their way, the next thing to be challenged will be the basis on which the more general "American way of life" is forming. The same charges of inequity levelled against the Southern regime will be levelled against capitalism, private property, the family, and even individuality. The Liberal's rage is directed against all restraints which allow things to grow in their own native character. He has a verdict of guilty against everything that stands in the way of certain ideas which are themselves life-denying.

This issue goes back to ultimate concepts about the right not merely to be free but to live. The right to live in the proper sense of "live" means the right to follow the law of one's being. When doctrinaire liberalism is applied to societies, the choice is between rejecting it in favor of a natural regime, or accepting it in the form of an enforced Utopia sustained by the police state. The first prevents *anomie* through the traditional means of consent and organic growth; the other strives to prevent it through an imposed conformity which is without soul. The attempt is futile because spirit is the final integrating factor of a society.

Most of us readily admit that this nation owes both its independence and its happiness to the principle of self-determination. That principle is now in danger of being suppressed by a blind zeal for standardization and enforced conformity. To oppose that trend, we do not have to become sectionalists. We need only grant the right of distinct groups to exercise some liberty of choice in the ordering of their social and cultural arrangements. If that liberty is denied, there will be no ground left on which to assert any other liberty.

PANAMA

(*Continued from p. 584*)

appear as a concession after a threat, and of weakness in character and policy generally. So long as the evidence shows that foreign countries can take advantage of Kremlin pressure against the U.S. to obtain grants otherwise unthinkable, that kind of blackmail will continue. No concessions the U.S. can make will be satisfatcory; there will always be new demands for more. When the 1955 agreement was made granting big financial and economic concessions to Panama, a friend of mine connected with that government was unreservedly delighted. This treaty seemed to settle the issue for years to come. But the ink was hardly dry before voices from the shadows began impugning American motives and insisting on more. A Panamanian president was assassinated. The wheel turned back to where it had started, except that this time agitators became more reckless with the truth in framing their grievances. Why not? Under such circumstances they can hardly lose.

On our part, we consider it illiberal to tell the facts straight. The construction of the Suez Canal was child's play compared to that of the Panama Canal. Its historic background is utterly different. From the start, the Suez Canal was recognized as Egyptian, with a lease that was to end only a few years after Nasser seized the waterway. In Panama, we first had to create a country, which in return granted us canal rights in perpetuity. We had to make the land habitable, by almost miraculous measures of sanitation. Out of this experience a Panamanian character has developed, in some ways much akin to our own, just as determined on freedom as the Filipino. We can be proud, along with the Panamanians, of this development. Why should we, or they, treat it as if it were something to be ashamed of? Let the facts be known to every high-school student in Panama as in America, and they would make short shrift of the Red propaganda.

Firm Policy Needed

We should heed the warning of the self-avowed Marxist, Diogenes de la Rosa, the Panamanian President's economic adviser and confidant, Director of the National Economic Council. Panamanians, he said, are so unsympathetic to Americans that they might help the enemy in case of war. This could only mean the enemy of their own country as well as the U.S., and clearly refers to the Soviet Union. In spite of everything we have done, he declared, "The Panamanians don't believe the U.S. keeps its promises to Panama." This indicates a dangerous failure in our public relations.

Mr. de la Rosa's views echo what many in other Latin American countries are saying, especially our friends. What is needed in this situation is a policy understandable in its integrity to the simplest man anywhere in the world, conducted with the humility, firmness of principle and friendliness that have marked the American of past generations. We must come to believe in ourselves once more before we can expect others to regain trust in us.

From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

School Board Policies

Let us not rest on what laurels we mossbacks have gained of late in our endeavor to turn back the clock and actually teach something in our public schools. Here and there, true enough, we have restored some respect for intellectual disciplines. Some months ago, for instance, I described in this page the admirable statement of policy drawn up by the school board of Ferndale, Michigan. But as yet, alas and lackaday, few other school boards have displayed such an understanding of our present educational ills. A striking instance of a contrary sort, also in Michigan, has come to my attention. Let us call the community in question Alder Creek, and the school Alder Creek High.

The present superintendent of Alder Creek, a suburban community, recently rose to his exalted office by obtaining the degree of doctor of education from a teachers' college. He had been a teacher of industrial arts, and had his difficulties with readin' and writin', which deficiency one might have expected to be an impediment to his obtaining the doctorate. But no: those that sat in the seats of the mighty at the teachers' college selected for him a dissertation-subject within the scope of his talents. His dissertation bore this title: "The Frequency of Occurrence of Certain Words in Twenty-Four Issues of the *Reader's Digest.*" (No, ma'am, I'm not kidding.) On becoming a doctor, he went straight to the top, as he deserved.

This learned superintendent of schools was blessed with a school board collectively incapable of counting words in the *Readers' Digest,* I am told. They raised money for the schools, and that was that. Yet one doubt gnawed at the minds of the board-members, and in time the board president expressed it to the superintendent. "Sam," said the president, "this school's got a Statement of Policy for Administrators. And it's got a Statement of Policy for Teachers. But we don't have no Statement of Policy for the School Board. Sam, why don't you write us up a Statement of Policy?"

What with his literary deficiencies, the superintendent was a trifle chagrined by this request; it might be difficult to compile a Statement of Policy from twenty-four issues of the *Reader's Digest.* But of his inward perturbation he showed small sign, saying boldly, "All right, Al; I'll try to have something ready for you at the next meeting."

When that meeting came, the superintendent beamed triumphantly upon the school board. "Boys," said he, "I've got you fixed up for a Statement of Policy. This gentleman here" —indicating a young man in a gray flannel suit who sat upon his right hand—"is a policy salesman, and I'm sure he can take care of us."

No, the man in the gray flannel suit was not an insurance salesman. He sold prefabricated statements of policy for school boards. You read me aright: standardized school-board policies. Opening his brief-case, the policy salesman affably displayed to the pleased board a printed document, becomingly bound. "I've got just the thing for you, gentlemen," he told them. "This policy has been adopted by a hundred and fifty-seven schools, and we haven't had a dissatisfied customer yet. This is the real article, good for any school in the country. Now we'll give a printed copy to every member of the board, and throw one in for Sam here; and our price is just four hundred dollars."

What with a hundred and fifty-seven previous adoptions, naturally the members of the Alder Creek board didn't need to *read* the policy; and anyway, there were some hard words in it. So they voted unanimously, without more ado, to take the printed policy and pay their money, and they added a vote of thanks to the superintendent and the gentleman in the gray flannel suit. Now Alder Creek has a Statement of Policy for the School Board. Could you ask for anything more? You could? Well, you must be living in the horse-and-buggy era. Nowadays we get things done, and no nonsense.

I am delighted to learn that Statements of Policy, printed and bound, may be bought in the abstract; for this new business, capable of infinite expansion, can save us immense amounts of time and argument in these United States. Our great industrial corporations can follow suit, so that directors will be saved all the worry of directing. Our Department of State can acquire, at slight expense, a Statement of Foreign Policy, and the bad old diplomacy will be swept away forever. Nay, better still, President Eisenhower can equip himself with a standard Statement of National Policy, and all this wearisome quibbling in Congress and the Cabinet may be terminated happily.

"At the devil's booth all things are sold: Each cup of dross has its ounce of gold." Time was when every schoolboy was expected to memorize Lowell's lines and take them to heart; but, wiser in our generation, we now set our schoolboy to reading about Dick and Jane, and run, Spot, run. And who expects school-board members to cultivate their poetical faculties? They're elected to raise those ounces of gold, and reverence a superintendent who can count the words in the *Reader's Digest.* There's nothing wrong with American schools that money can't cure, we are told by the sages of the National Education Association. After all, what is there in life that money can't buy? Love? Or wisdom? Well, we educators don't talk about Love nowadays, you must understand: our word is Togetherness. And as for Wisdom—why, what would become of some educational administrators if school-board members should get wise?

Reflection on the Innate Fairness of Words

Right
Rhymes with light;
While Left
Rhymes with theft.

BRUCE EDWARDS

Dr. Conant's Nostrum

REVILO OLIVER

The "educators" are scared. The more prescient among them sense that, like Cardinal Wolsey, they have touched the highest point of all their greatness—and fear that from the full meridian of their glory they haste now to their setting. For four lush decades they have been able to silence all criticism by intoning a little of John Dewey's magical gibberish and waving a diploma from Teachers College. But their Golden Age is over; the talismans no longer work. Nothing has been accomplished by vendettas directed against Professor Arthur Bestor and the others who have exposed the use of public schools to destroy mind and character. What is worse, parents in communities from New Canaan, Connecticut, to Pasadena, California, can no longer be kept in control by hypnotic buncombe chanted in meetings of Parent-Teacher Associations. What is even worse, some state legislatures are considering repeal of the laws that make the public schools the private domain of organized charlatanry.

In this evening of their day the "educators," if they are to save their racket, must make—at least ostensibly—some concessions to reality. And they must invoke the aid of all their allies. One path of strategic retreat is being carefully lighted for them by an industrious torchbearer, Mr. John W. Gardner of the Carnegie Corporation. Two years ago his foundation hired (by a "grant," of course) an ex-president of Harvard University to do the reconnoitering. The Big Name and his staff have now produced a superficially plausible booklet that will not alarm the taxpayer who does not read between the lines.

Dr. James B. Conant's *The American High School Today* (McGraw-Hill, $1.00) does contain *some* very sound recommendations. The author concludes that every school, large or small, should make provision for the 15 per cent of high-school pupils who are intelligent enough to receive a high-school education, including, of course, four years of mathematics and four years of a foreign language. Such courses should be offered, regardless of enrollment, at a level high enough to exclude the unfit. The schools should require of everyone four years of English and three years of science, and should segregate the pupils according to their abilities. And there are a few minor recommendations of similar tenor. This part of the report is so eminently reasonable that readers to whom all this has been obvious for years and years may be deluded into thinking that they have found in Dr. Conant a staunch ally. In reality he has outlined what is probably the minimum of concessions that the "educators" must make to save themselves.

These concessions sugar the pill that the reader of this booklet is expected to swallow: the bland insistence that there is nothing really wrong with American schools—nothing, that is, that Dr. Conant will not cure with his prescription.

It is really remarkable what Dr. Conant and his staff did not see in their visits to the various high schools. Their good fortune evidently preserved them from contact with shyster administrators, illiterate principals, perverted counselors, and teachers trained only in an intricate methodology for teaching nothing. They had no glimpse of the nauseous tripe that is forced down children's throats under the name of "life adjustment." They saw nothing of programs designed to incite a precocious sexual promiscuity and a brutish acquiescence in socialism. For that matter, they did not even notice the fantastic pullulation of parasites, although there must now be many schools which match the one in Phoenix, Arizona, in which 107 "administrators" are needed to harass 119 teachers.

BUT Dr. Conant does more than see no evil. Three of his recommendations are, significantly, just what the Doctors of Education ordered.

1. He gives "top priority" to "the elimination of the small high school by district reorganization" because a school which graduates less than one hundred head per annum "is too small . . . to provide a satisfactory education." Now everyone knows that fifty years ago, when the poorest high school was approximately the equal of the best of today, few schools had graduating classes of one hundred. But, of course, Dr. Conant's school must offer everything to everybody —everything from cow-grooming to nail-driving, from egg-frying to guppy-watching. Hence the need for consolidated school districts with big, new buildings and big, new bond issues, with big fleets of buses and big staffs of "specialists"—and with the comforting assurance that children are farther from parental observation and that the school boards are more easily manipulated. This is, in short, the very scheme that the "experts" are currently promoting with their usual cunning. In some sections of the Middle West, at least, squads of hatchet-men from the North Central Association are now busy bullying the small communities that want to maintain their own schools and their solvency.

2. Dr. Conant also wants more and more "counselors" and "guidance officers." To be sure, the only function that he *explicitly* assigns to them is that of helping children select their elective courses. But what "counselors" actually do has been sketched in a recent issue of *Human Events* by a teacher who writes under the sardonic pseudonym "Famulus." They

demoralize and corrupt the adolescents under their care. They offer to the children endless opportunities to escape from the routine of class work and to attract attention to themselves by psychological exhibitionism and malingering.

The "counselors" are perhaps the most baneful influence in the whole "modern" school. With very few exceptions, their competence is minimal even in the field of psychology, for a genuine scientific interest will not long be content with the dreary task of making mountainous reports out of the molehills of adolescent introspection. And tinkering with the minds and liv s of human beings is not an activity that attracts normal men and women.

But let the counselor be as skilled and rational as you will, his basic conception of men is that of somewhat complicated rats, whose problems are physiological, not religious or ethical or intellectual. He will, nine times out of ten, hold the barbarous superstition that men must be conditioned to be socialized serfs in a Hellfare State. His function, however you may disguise it with verbiage, is to supplant the home and the church, and even if he starts with good intentions, he will soon sicken with the fancy that he and his secret files have superseded God. And indeed, by the scientific amputation of souls, he *can* create a swarm of zombies.

3. Dr. Conant would administer to everyone a course on "American problems." Just what he would have taught in this course can be inferred from his insistence that "one of the fundamental doctrines of American society is equality of status in all forms of honest labor." Now if Dr. Conant means that his social status and that of his bootblack *are* equal, his staff must have failed to do research on this point. If he means that they should be *made* equal, he is calling for the abolition of civilized society, which depends on recognition of the natural inequality of men. And if he means that American tradition *pretends* that there is such equality of status, he obviously does not distinguish between the Constitution and the boob-bait manufactured by Karl Marx.

I doubt that Dr. Conant's booklet will accomplish its purpose. Ten years ago, indeed, it would have been a potent amulet. But even the names of Carnegie and Harvard no longer cast a spell over a people that is becoming increasingly impatient of subterfuge. No wonder the "educators" are scared.

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Limited War or Political War?

GERHART NIEMEYER

THERE MUST BE, by now, an implicit understanding that the East-West conflict is not likely to be decided by way of a total atomic war. As a result, we find ourselves in an ambiguous relationship with an enemy power, a relationship the true nature of which we have not yet grasped. The Cold War is twelve years old, and we have as yet no history even of its first phase: clear evidence that the historians are still lacking a conceptual framework in which to understand the meaning of Cold War events.

The relationship is paradoxical in the extreme, for, if we apply the usual peace-war terminology, we arrive at seemingly contradictory results. It is true that all-out war is rejected as the means of resolving the East-West conflict; but it is also true that all-out war is not only not impossible, but that its probability forms the operating premise of national policies on both sides. It is true that East-West tensions have produced tremendous instability in the modern world; but it is also true that these tensions have produced what stability and order there is in the theaters of conflict. It is true that national policies are far more conditioned by military factors than in normal times of peace; but it is also true that military policies depend more on political factors than is usual in times of war. Even the plethora of terms applied to this relationship testifies to our deep puzzlement: "Cold War," "competitive coexistence," "no peace, no war," "the Third World War," etc.

Among the few who are beginning to get their heads above water is Raymond Aron. His essay *On War* (Doubleday, $3.50) is, as one would expect from a Frenchman, a lucid sketch of the contemporary international picture. To be sure, he does not produce the concept that we still need, the concept of what a Cold War is, what its battles, victories and defeats are. He does, however, draw the contours of the conflict with a few clear lines: a) In spite of the atomic threat, there will not be any atomic disarmament. For "states are in essence sovereign," "sovereign states are automatically rivals," their relations "are never essentially or ultimately peaceful," and therefore a disarmament agreement between great powers "can only be reached on condition that it does not favor either [power]." Nevertheless, there will be quantitative reductions in the number of divisions, as atomic strength is further developed. (This conclusion, though, appears very doubtful in the light of the Soviet military doctrine that calls for increased manpower in an age of atomic missile warfare). b) The conventional rearmament of the West after Korea was a failure, foreshadowed in the profound uncertainty of the Western military men about the meaning of the Korean war ("wrong place, wrong time, wrong enemy"). It fell short of the West's self-raised goals. It was far too expensive. (Seldom has "more money been spent for fewer weapons and weapons of more doubtful worth.") The high cost of conventional arms reflects mistaken and untimely ideas about the use of conventional arms. c) In the shadow of bipolarity, certain areas and nations enjoy an independence which they could not have if the super-powers were agreed.

In these areas of independence, regional diplomatic systems are developing their own patterns. d) In the field of organized violence, guerrilla warfare has emerged at the same time as atomic warfare. This is a result of the overlapping of civilizations from which also stem the insoluble problems of regions like South Africa, Algeria and Kenya. The tension between the U.S. and the USSR is responsible for a stability which is deceptive, for, underneath the surface of rigid calm, changes take place of which we know nothing until they overtake us with the suddenness of landslides.

If there is a thesis to this book, it is close to Kissinger's plea for limited wars. "Limiting violence" is the task of civilization. Today this can be achieved only by policies of adjustment to and preparation for different kinds of wars, as required by different occasions of locale, objectives and cultural setting. The basic sin, the sin that produces total war, is to bid for "too grandiose a victory."

ARON'S LUCIDITY is wholesome and beneficial as far as it goes. It does not, however, go far enough to throw light on the ideological depth of the conflict. Soviet ideology is inherently aggressive (though not in an exclusively military sense). It aims, at home as well as abroad, at "too grandiose a victory." Its intended victory is no less boundless for being sought with a minimum of overt violence.

What kind of opposition befits this aggression? Aron does not say. So far we have based our defense on a self-righteous reliance on the merit of our existence. We have felt it must be manifest that we do not deserve to be totally changed, and we even invite Soviet visitors so they can convince themselves of this on the spot. The passiveness of our ideological stance has produced a passive diplomacy and passive defense policy.

Now we could not, even should we wish to, engender in ourselves the Communist type of aggressiveness. There simply is no ideological basis for that in our culture. But we can move from passivity to activity. It takes, however, more than commitment to the "limitation of violence" to accomplish that. It takes vision—vision of a world that would be free from Communist pressure. It takes alternatives to Communist programs. It takes, above all, simple but rational statements of these things.

Aron is looking for military forces to suit the occasion. To guide them, we need ideas to suit the occasion. Among these needs, most important are: a) concepts about the basic political and economic features which we believe to be practical alternatives to Communist rule (and don't mention parliamentarianism, either!), b) a basic and simple theory of the development of societies from poverty to wealth, and c) some hints on how and with what sense of direction we propose to pick up the pieces when the Communist rule finally is brought down. In an age of increased reliance on "political warfare," we can do no less.

A Chinese Tragedy

RODNEY GILBERT

KARL MARX was a thoroughgoing atheist. His materialistic interpretation of history began with his denial of the existence of any spiritual force in the universe. But he considered anti-religious agitation a waste of time and energy: under socialism all men would be so happy that they would feel no need of a spiritual narcotic, and religion, like the state, would just wither away. This did not satisfy Lenin. Most of the Russian people were deeply religious; the influence of the church was tremendous; and that influence was certain to be counterrevolutionary. Lenin made a determined effort to destroy religious institutions and to make religion ridiculous and contemptible in the sight of the rising generation. Stalin continued to patronize every form of anti-religious propaganda, education and discrimination; but, perhaps because he had been educated in a theological seminary, he attempted what Lenin did not—the seduction of a sufficient number of clerical men to form a Communist-controlled church.

This is the kind of anti-religious program which the Chinese Communists took over, under Chou En-lai's personal direction, and which they have been pushing with diabolical finesse and with far too much success for eight years. A detailed account of how they set to work is the major theme of Edward Hunter's *The Story of Mary Liu* (Farrar, $4). But since the story is Mary's, as she told it to the author in Hong Kong, something more than half the book is given to Mary's personal history, to show how she came to be in a position to observe at first hand, and to experience for herself, the way the Communists contrived to turn a number of exalted Chinese Protestant dignitaries into traitors to the faith and to their friends, into whimpering or flamboyant liars, informers, and agents of the Red despotism.

Mary Liu, the daughter of a small Nanking shopkeeper, was born about 1907 or 1908 and sold into a rich and distinguished Nanking household to be brought up as a servant. Through someone's neglect, the child, then about four years old, was left

out in a courtyard on a cold winter night. Her hands and feet were frozen. As a result, both legs below the knees were amputated; she lost her left hand and part of the forearm also; but, though the fingers of the right hand had to come off, the surgeon contrived to leave the palm and a stub of the thumb. Whether this handicapped child would ever have developed the willpower and self-confidence that she did if she had been whole and sound, there is no telling. But she learned to run on her stumps, to play football; with that single palm and stub of a thumb she taught herself to sew and knit, to comb and pin up her own hair, and to button her clothes with a buttonhook. She not only learned

Random Notes

In a sacrifice of clarity to ambiguity, the title of Adlai Stevenson's forthcoming book on his journey to Moscow has been changed from *Friendly Enemies* to *Friends and Enemies.*

From England, a remarkable phenomenon, commercial success of a book of poetry: John Betjeman's *Collected Poems* (to be published here this summer by Houghton-Mifflin) has been an outstanding publishing success of the season, selling at the rate of 1,000 copies a day. We cannot forbear to quote a few lines, lifted from a review in an English journal:

> I have a Vision of the Future, chum,
> The workers' flats in fields of soya beans
> Tower up like silver pencils, score on score:
> And Surging Millions hear the Challenge come
> From microphones in communal canteens
> "No Right! No Wrong!
> All's perfect, evermore."

James Thurber's story of the *New Yorker* and its editor, Harold W. Ross, will be published by Atlantic-Little, Brown this fall under the title *The Years with Ross* . . . . A film version of Tennessee Williams' play, *Suddenly Last Summer,* will be produced by Sam Spiegel, with Elizabeth Taylor and perhaps Vivien Leigh . . . . A dramatization of Dostoevski's *The Possessed* by Albert Camus is the outstanding event of the theatrical season in Paris.

From the *American Journal of Sociology* we have gleaned some titles of doctoral dissertations: "A Sociological Analysis of the Relationships between the Degree of Participation in a Drinking Group and the Social Mobility Pattern" . . . "The Social Situation and Clothing Awareness" . . . "Parental Participation in Child-Rearing as Evaluated by Social Deviates."

F. S. M.

to write; her Chinese caligraphy was far above average. She went through school and through Ginling College with an excellent record. A scholarship gave her a year in the United States. When the Communists came, she was a magazine editor and publisher, an influential Christian.

The two stories in this book will make different appeals to different readers. Mary's own story—that of an indomitable will to make good as a useful person in spite of frightful disabilities—is one. To this writer's taste it is slightly overdone and comes within a hairbreadth of being maudlin in spots. But maybe others will not find it so. The account of the Red regime's step-by-step procedure in the wrecking of the Chinese Christian Church, through the seduction and terrorization of too easily debauched leaders, is another. And that is a story which no one who has ever put a penny in a box for missions in China should fail to read.

Not Magnificent, Not Waugh

J. P. McFADDEN

GLARING at the prospective reader from the dust-jacket of the book is a formidable figure: huge cigar poised in one hand, the other determinedly grasping, as if to plant it more firmly, a picket fence bearing the sign (in French) "No Admittance on Business."

The icy gaze of Mr. Evelyn Waugh has long kept away those who would make *his* business theirs. Perhaps it has been this ferocious insistence on privacy that has, until now, prevented any sort of serious study of this most skilled and facile literary craftsman. Before the man and his work, as before the dust-jacket photo, one takes pause before plunging further.

Now someone has ventured inside the fence, with, evidently, at least tacit approval of the artist himself. The result (*Evelyn Waugh, Portrait of an Artist,* by Frederick J. Stopp, Little, Brown, $4.00) is a trifle sad. Mr. Stopp has labored conscientiously, but his portrait is inadequate. Waugh does not fit the mould in which Mr. Stopp would cast him.

He has contrived to find ponderously subtle *motifs* cropping up here, there, and everywhere in Waugh's novels. Some of them must surprise Waugh himself; they will certainly annoy his devoted readers (among whom please count this reviewer), for Waugh is, above all, *funny* (Edmund Wilson has called him "the only first-rate comic genius that has appeared in English since Bernard Shaw").

But saddest of all for Mr. Stopp is the fact that a much better and more imaginative picture of his subject has recently been drawn by Waugh himself—in the first chapter of *The Ordeal of Gilbert Pinfold.* It is a short but delightful autobiographical sketch which might well have served Mr. Stopp as a model, and which is more likely to intrigue the uninitiated reader into discovering Waugh than are Mr. Stopp's abstract generalizations.

However, merely by probing into the novels, Mr. Stopp recalls many hiliarious episodes and situations one had all but forgotten. And the book contains some (although not very much) new biographical material, especially on Waugh's youth, as well as an excellent appendix containing a complete listing of the works, dates, and main characters.

A most unfortunate omission is the author's failure to explore deeply Waugh's personal and political views: we learn that he is Catholic, conservative and controversial; that he is all of these things more strongly than most, and that he is rather eccentric about them to boot. This is to miss the point: for it is not how Mr. Stopp—or the whole world—looks at Evelyn Waugh, but how *he* views the world, that provides the unifying *motif* which Stopp seeks but never finds in the works themselves. The Age of the Common Man (a pet phrase, and hate, of Waugh's) may find him an atavistic survival, but he is nothing more than a product of Western Christian tradition, even if an unusually articulate and perceptive one. In a word, he is a conservative, who once wrote, in a book over-

looked entirely by Mr. Stopp, that "A conservative is not merely an obstructionist who wishes to resist . . . novelties [nor] a brake to frivolous experiment. He has positive work to do . . . Civilization has no force of its own beyond what is given it from within. It is under constant assault and it takes most of the energies of civilized men to keep going at all . . . [with] only a margin of energy left over for experiment, however beneficent."

Waugh understands his age as few men do: otherwise, he would not have rejected it so completely.

Eisenstein Revisited

The Thing

GARRY WILLS

I SPENT several hours, recently, getting acquainted with that Thing which we will all know better before long. I went to see two of Sergei Eisenstein's classic films, *Ten Days That Shook the World* and *Alexander Nevsky*. The story of Lenin's triumph, and of Nevsky's, are spun out by the film-wizard in visual patterns and rhythms that wake an answering music in the viewers. The technical mastery of both films distracts the mind for a while, so that one is startled when, at last, he realizes what inner roar has answered the visual turmoil. It is one of the oldest sounds in history, one which—to our peril—we have long ignored. It is the Thing—a hatred of form, of life and beauty, of Civilization.

The only value endorsed by these films is Russian earth; in its name, every sign of order, religion and culture is wrecked. Strength punches out brains. Great stupid men join armored viragos in smashing chandeliers, statues, palaces and the Cross. Love is presented as comradeship-in-arms, and admiration is given only to raging brawn. We see Man asserting *himself* by destroying his own achievements, smashing his claims to glory as rivals to himself. The ideological purpose of such wreckage is swallowed up in the Energies that have been summoned to do the particular tasks of overthrowing the Czar or the Teutonic Knights. In the joyful celebration of Nevsky's triumph, the Prince throws the picture's villain to his happy, singing peasants; and they rend him with their bare hands. What will he give them to wreck after that? Another nation? Perhaps the world?

These blind energies were not loosed overnight in Russia. They gathered their subterranean forces for many years. We hear their rumble in Dostoievski's love of hysteria; he seeks wisdom in ecstacy, not contemplation; in exotic experiences, not in the accumulating experience of family, state and church. Tolstoi had the same mystic hatred for life's forms, though he tried to baptize his war against culture. The major who deserts Moscow in *War and Peace* throws a victim to the same mob that

surges around Nevsky in the film. In the Russia that is unfettering Dionysius, king of oblivion, of earth and night, these energies began and continued the revolution; ideology served the Thing. A rage of destruction is kept alive every day in Russia, and channeled into the manufacture of machines that can devour life.

Or course, the Thing does not exist only in Russia. It is precisely because we are unwilling to recognize it among us we have been slow to unmask it in Russia. It is at work everywhere. It lurks in the strange enthusiasm which Western man has developed for denying his past, his achievements, his culture. It inspires a hatred of tradition. It masquerades as "democracy," so that criticism of aristocracy is often an attack on excellence of any kind. It has used educational theories to guarantee that no one shall surpass another, no intellect become superior. It rages in the art which is a systematic assault on art. It explains the strange anti-Americanism of Americans—merely a new form of man's hatred of himself.

Eisenstein's film on Lenin is a silent movie, and the earthquake of soundless rage produces an eery sensation by this very silence. It makes the story remote, as if we were too far off to hear the noise, yet intimate, as if the scenes were projected on our eyes from within. The remoteness is of an interior distance and depth, a rumble from the abyss of our own self. It is true that the energy of destruction has used revolution as its voice in this century, and Russia has therefore polarized its force. But the Force itself is in all of us. It is the blind rage which makes people throw things, from tantrums to vases to bombs. It is barbarism.

PEACEMONGERS tell us that only national differences exist between men today; that these are trivial; and that essential brotherhood will triumph if we ignore these superficial differences. But they are forgetting the Thing; its force is not superficial. It is one of the essentials of man's nature, part of it though warring with it. When that force is given free rein in an entire nation, or is deliberately conjured up in a people like echoes sent into a canyon, we cannot ignore the danger. No man can forget the sleeping Ruin he carries in himself and remain civilized. Society has the same duty of vigilance toward itself that the individual does. To the degree that we *are* "one world," we must hate the Thing when its darkness weighs upon a large part of the world. For only cold hate can deal with Evil; the instinct of self-preservation is helpless before its frenzied cunning.

"Friendliness" has become a creed with Americans. We like to think that hatred will be love if only we pretend that it is. This is a psychological de-

vice that may work in some situations: but in such cases hatred cannot *be* love, it must *become* its opposite. We make this outcome impossible when we destroy our ability to recognize the distinction between the two. Some think peace can be gained by ignoring the Thing, living with it, or pretending that it is not what it is. But as cancer fights the living system whether it is detected or not, so this hatred of civilization continues to exercise its energies against us; until finally no one will be able to ignore it. The day may come when the Thing will stand clear before us, using the Russian nation as its sword. I do not know whether we will hate it enough to strike before we are struck down. But the conservative does not wait until that final crisis; for the conservative can be defined, today, as the man who identifies and opposes the Thing.

Movies

Western with Symbolism

JOHN LEONARD

THE SYMBOL has come to Hollywood. But it's not quite prepared to make an unattended entrance. It comes accompanied by Gary Cooper and Maria Schell and Technicolor and a theme song. Nevertheless, that frontier instrument of justice, the hanging tree, is a good symbol, and not overdone in the unusual new movie of that name.

The Hanging Tree makes a few notable omissions for a Western. It is not set in cattle country. It has no crooked sheriff, no horseback pursuit, no sunset showdown, and no noble savages. On the other hand, it supplies some new dimensions—a crackpot prophet intoning Genesis and brandishing a hickory staff; Sigmund Freud; pacts with the Devil; wild horses and house-burning *à la* Faulkner; and Maria Schell in a mining town.

And it hangs together well. Taciturn Doc Frail (Cooper, of course) rides out of his mysterious past, his soul and his secret in a little black satchel, to set up shop overlooking the Skull Creek mining camp. He ministers to the townsfolk, a hardy if somewhat ill-nourished people; a young boy (Ben Piazza) who is running from the hanging tree; and Maria Schell, a Swiss lady who has lost her father, her sight, and her grip on reality in a stagecoach robbery.

Frail gradually banishes both the specter haunting Miss Schell and Miss Schell herself. She loves him anyway. And when he saves her from indignities desired by Karl Malden (who provides the picture's best performance), she in turn buys him from a mob and the lynching tree with her gold and her land-claim.

Cooper and Piazza are adequate to their tasks; Miss Schell, as usual, a pleasure beyond her acting, which is also good. Malden, as a mercurial prospector and Rudimentary Man, alternately plays fool and fiend with excellent versatility. Mixed into this montage are a patent medicine Cassandra, a ladies' club morality march, a gold strike, and a directing job (Delmer Daves) which dips just twice over the brink and into banality.

There is a hint instead of a holocaust of Montana's natural splendor. The color, for once, is not abused; although the ears of the audience are—by a saccharine theme song bracketing the action and explaining for slow wits the point of the picture.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

THE BUSINESSMAN'S GUIDE TO PRACTICAL POLITICS, by J.J. Wuerthner Jr. (Regnery, $3.75). Just when American business is beginning to realize that its enemies are scant inches from its jugular, there appears this handy volume on how to fight back. The author, a General Electric official, avoids the usual nice-Nellie manner and gets down to the basic facts and some bare-knuckled advice. What is the AFL-CIO doing politically these days? What can a corporation do without breaking the law? What have various companies already done? Striving to keep his presentation simple, Mr. Wuerthner occasionally overdoes it (as when he defines "the political facts of life" alliteratively: Community, Committee, Candidate, Campaign, Cash and Continuity), but his primer nonetheless contains plenty of meat for politically undernourished executives. It is true that the basic Liberal assault on free enterprise can be smashed only by a systematic counterattack upon Liberalism's poisonous philosophical premises. But businessmen who are too practical-minded, or just plain too dumb to oppose their critics at that fundamental level may nevertheless be willing and able to slug it out politically toe to toe, in their states and communities, with the eggheads' snarling ADA and Big Labor's brawny COPE. This book tells them how. W. A. RUSHER

THE UNDERGROUND CITY, by H. L. Humes (Random House, $4.95). When Mr. Humes sat down to write *The Underground City* he was obviously uncertain whether it was to be a spine-tingling espionage story or a political tract; and 755 pages later the matter was still unresolved. The higher-minded characters in the book have been expiating for the past ten years (1938-48) their failure to fight for right and justice in Spain, which made them morally responsible for the Second World War and even—in a way—for that greater blot, the U. S. Government's loyalty-security program. What might have been a good spy story—and nothing more—is ruined by naive political posturing, and the whole is enveloped in a blanket of factual data on France which Mr. Humes obviously felt a suitable reward for the reader dogged enough to finish his book. P. L. BUCKLEY

SUPERMANSHIP, by Stephen Potter (Random House, $3.00). In this new work, the acknowledged master of gamesmanship, lifemanship and one-upmanship shares with his disciples some further reflections upon his art of the perfect squelch. Here and there he attains his old heights of hilarity, as in some instructions to the countryman entertaining the cityman, and vice versa, but on the whole it must be said that in this book Potter palls. And regretfully, one must express surprise that so precise a scholar as Mr. Potter should have overlooked two glaring typographical errors (p. 24 and p. 33), and also should have blundered into a grammatical howler (p. 37). He has in the past shown greater promise than is here fulfilled, but hope ought not, perhaps, to be abandoned. J. J. KILPATRICK

To the Editor

What Makes It "Intervention"?

Mr. John Chamberlain in his review of a new edition of *The Autobiography of Theodore Roosevelt*, [February 14] states that Roosevelt would not "have permitted a Fidel Castro to seize and use Americans as unwilling buffers against bombing in a local insurrection." Under the present legal status of inter-American relations, that raises a nice point. What could Theodore Roosevelt have done about it?

During the era of the full flowering of the professional "good neighbor," in the year 1936, there was signed at Buenos Aires and duly ratified a remarkable document known as The Non-Intervention Protocol of Buenos Aires. Together with the Constitution of the United States and the laws of Congress, it is now part of the "supreme law of the land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby." It governs, consequently, the official actions of the United States in its dealings with the other American Republics and likewise individuals both corporate and human.

The Protocol's punch lines mutually bind the twenty-one American Republics not to intervene, directly or indirectly, in any way whatsoever, in the internal or external affairs of any of the other signatory states. . . .

Santa Barbara, Cal. ROBERT BLAKE

Another Pilot Protested

I believe one small correction is in order in the Tinker article, "Did Cousins Cozen the Pilots?", February 28. The organization receiving the Dent largesse was not the American Association for the United Nations, but the United States Committee for the United Nations.

There was at least one other pilot at the convention who opposed the Dent proposal. Sent by his local—but on his own time and at his own expense—this pilot was to receive equal time with that given Charlie Dent to present the "other side." Which he did. His main point was that ALPA had no business engaging in international politics, and from there he springboarded into questioning the UNO, and what the "purposes and principles as set forth in the Charter" could do to the sovereign rights of the sovereign citizen of the United States.

The resulting resolution (considerably watered down, I understand) declared ALPA acceptance of the "purposes and principles as set forth in the Preamble," etc., etc. It further resolved that ALPA use "the symbol" on its stationery and publications. It is unfortunate that those who see the "symbol" which ALPA has officially decided to use will not know that the acceptance of the UNO is one of narrow limitation. . . .

The other pilot? Also (as is Dent) an 18-year captain with United Air Lines. Captain Donald C. McBain, Los Angeles, ALPA Local Council 57. Who has, incidentally, been exposed to NATIONAL REVIEW since the very first copy rolled off the presses.

Santa Monica, Cal. IRIS MCBAIN

Southern Liberal

Thank you for your excellent review of *The Angry Scar* [February 28] and the equally excellent analysis of its author. I agree with Richard Weaver that a Liberal is unfitted, for the reasons mentioned, to write with reality of the situation in the book discussed. And Mr. Carter is further handicapped by being a Southern Liberal, which means he has to apologize for having been born in the South. He wants his reading public to know he is not typical of this backward region.

Manteo, Va. KATE PATTESON

Demonstrating the Atom

I cannot agree at all with Medford Evans' article in the February 14 issue, "Hiroshima Saved Japan." I prefer to agree with General Le May who said Hiroshima was unnecessary as "we had Japan on the ropes." Anyone who visited Japan after the war knew that her entire potential for making war was destroyed. Halsey sailed his battleships and fleet along the coast of Japan at will, shelling shore installations, bridges, towns etc. I know; our youngest son was in that fleet. And nary a plane came out to meet him.

I disagree with Dr. Arthur Compton [cited by Dr. Evans] on how important a palace revolt was, my in-

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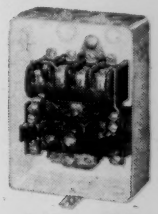

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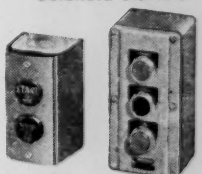

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formant being the last ambassador to the UN, Hon. Toshikazu Kase, who tells the story in *Journey to the Missouri*. Mr. Kase, a close friend, told me they vainly tried to get the Russians to make contact and arrange peace on almost any terms. . . .

I refuse to believe that intelligence would not have thought out a way of demonstrating to the Japanese here (we had their ambassador at Hot Springs) the terror and power of atomic bombs, calling a truce, flying these men back to Japan and awaiting the result. Many atomic scientists agree this should have been done.

Los Altos, Cal. GEORGE T. KEATING

HEAR CLEARLY AGAIN

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The Good Old Days?

Mr. Buckley's excellent essay, "The Decline of Partisanship" [February 14], recalled the following quotation from Ambrose Bierce's "The Game of Politics" (*The Shadow on the Dial and Other Essays,* San Francisco, 1909). "On any question of importance each party is divided against itself and dares not formulate a preference. There is no question before the country upon which one may not think and vote as he likes without affecting his standing in the political communion of saints of which he professes himself a member. 'Party lines' are as terribly confused as the parallels of latitude and longitude after a twisting earthquake, or those aimless lines representing the competing railroad on a map published by a company operating 'the only direct route.' It is not probable that the state of things can last; if there is to be 'government by party'—and we should be sad to think that so inestimable a boon were soon returned to Him who gave it—men must begin to let their angry passions rise and take sides. 'Ill fares the land to hastening ills a prey,' where the people are too wise to dispute and too good to fight."

Seemingly, shortcomings like those you have observed were perturbing newspapermen before 1909. Time and again one is tempted to believe that the people of the United States and other contemporary civilized nations have not yet attained a capacity for self-government.

RICHARD J. KULASAVAGE, M.D.
Portland, Ore.

Slipping before the Brink

I wish to commend Frank Meyer's column "What Price a Patch of Sand?" in the January 31 issue. It is the finest expression of righteous indignation over the "triumphal tour of Anastas Mikoyan."

There are those among us who do not buy "a patch of sand," and who welcome Mr. Meyer's indignant, sharp exposure! The "slippage" which he pinpointed is sadly indicative of our times—and only voices such as his can arouse and alert the people before it is too late.

Pasadena, Cal. MRS. PHILIP CHANDLER

NR on Batista

Your reports on Cuba have surprised me. . . . Why didn't we hear anything about Batista's executions and atrocities?

Linton, N.D. ADAM GEFREH

From "What About Cuba," NATIONAL REVIEW, April 26, 1958: "Fulgencio Batista is a despicable man. He has permitted his agents to bolster his regime by resort to torture of a fiendish kind, revealing a personal indifference to brutality that isolates him from civilized company. . . . We do not join the Liberals in opposing Batista because he does not rule by plebiscite. We reject the presumption that the packaged democracy of the League of Women Voters is the answer for every country, everywhere. . . . But torture transmutes force, as an instrument for maintaining power, into force, the instrument of the fiend, of the man whose use of such force disqualifies him to exercise power."

ED.

Doers and Reviewers

Your report of the stuff ladled out to the sixth graders, the gifted ones, at Levittown, gives me to mount a charger. ["The Week," February 28].

So Hamilton was a social climber, "like most great leaders of conservative causes"? Give me their names, please, these leaders of conservative causes. . . . And did the biographer report that Hamilton charged a redoubt at Yorktown at the risk of his life? Have the writers of snide arti-

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cles done as much for their "people," or their country?

Of course Hamilton was embarrassed by his bastardy. But he married into a proud family (the Schuylers), and went through the whole Revolutionary War as a target for bullets, and founded our first bank, and gave the new nation its first bite of finance.

To smother his physical accomplishments under a blanket of spite, childishness and ignorance, is only to glorify him, really. For he stands above the criticism. And those who criticize him will go down under a power that he would have fought to his last breath.

Vail's Gate, N.Y. BURKE BOYCE

"J. B."

Seldom has NATIONAL REVIEW published a more penetrating or more needed review than that by Father John McLaughlin of Archibald MacLeish's *J.B.* [February 28]. Ever since I saw the play at the Brussels Fair last fall, I have awaited a balanced analysis of the tawdriness of its message and of the extraordinary agility with which it was performed. As a theologian, and as a superb drama critic, Father McLaughlin wrote it....

New York City WILLIAM SPAAK

Away with Leave

There was a slick spieler named
  Murrow,
Whose line was so smooth and so
  thoro,
    But he fell for a hex
    Whose business was sex,
And now Mr. Murrow's on furlough.

Baltimore, Md. JAKE HERBST

A Thousand Times No!

I am greatly distressed at the sensitivity of your correspondent, Albert B. Chase of South Haven, Michigan, disclosed in his letter to the editor in the issue of February 28.

It is suggested that he read to line 11 of Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, Act II, Scene I, then stop, and consign all of Shakespeare to the incinerator!

What is it that so shocks Mr. Chase? That the statement was made, or that *NR* reported it? May not the unused balance of his subscription go to a deserving college student?

Price, Utah MARK HAMMOND

What! And corrupt the young? ED.

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